

VEDIC VARIANTS



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VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the R
Mantras of the Veda

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BY

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Volume II
PHONETICS

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PREFACE

This second volume of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* deals primarily with Phonetics; included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rune words. It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important.

The general plan and objects of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* have been described in the Preface to Volume I, *The Verb* (Philadelphia, 1930); which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the co-authors participated in the work. The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's. In this volume my own share is larger. Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me. I have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters: those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them. To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter. In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials. This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists.

Cordial thanks are again due to the *LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA* and to the *AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES*, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series.

Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr. Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on *Noun Inflection*. With his able and vigorous co-operation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon. Dr. Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as co-author.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = VEDIC VARIANTS (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb). Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance. *RVRep.* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute, that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

§1. An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time. Thus, beginning with RV, the two words *vācam* and *vājam* interchange in:

pra vācam (9 35 4a *vājam*) *indur iṣyati* RV. 9. 12 6a, 35. 4a,
'Soma sends forth speech (substance)' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading *vācam* is the primary one (cf. *RVRep.* 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

§2. More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of *c* and *j*:

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.,
'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth.' For some reason *prāñco*, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittirīyaka the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading *pra* + *añjas* 'forward swiftly' (*añjas*, RV) The commentator's *prāñjah* = *prāñcah* is negligible, TA. must have been familiar with *añjas* in the sense of 'swiftly'.

§3. We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These

secondary readings have their own right to exist, they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus—

ud usriyāh sṛjate (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB ,

'The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together' (The TB comm seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools: *utsacata udgatalvena sambaddhān karoti prasārayatīty arthah*) The TB reading is inappropriate, but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of *a* for *r*, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB understood the word as a form of *sac*, and had lost sight of the root *sṛj*, whatever meaning it attached to *sac*. Note, in passing, that the TB reading results in a kind of alliteration, *sacate* . . *sacā*. Thus the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word *sacā* on the original *sṛjate*. Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds. Cf. Winternitz in his edition of ApMB, Introduction, xv ff, and xxx.

§4. Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology. Concretely speaking. If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of *r* to *a*, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this:

ava sma durhanāyalaḥ (SV. *durhṛn°*) RV SV.

Here the RV. has an obvious Prakritism which the SV 'corrects' by substituting the Sanskritic *durhṛn°*. This does not mean that the SV knows more Sanskrit than the RV; the RV. itself knows the stem *durhṛn-* (1. 84. 16; 7. 59. 8). It is, however, a purely phonetic variation. On the other hand, in the variant—

clām samkṛṣya (MS. MŚ *°kaṣya* or *°kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ. MŚ ,

who can decide definitely whether the *a* or *u* for *r* is purely phonetic (Prakritic), or lexical? Böhtlingk in fact assumes an improbable *samkuṣya* from the root *kuṣ*. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of *r* to *a*, then the substitution of *sacate* for *sṛjate*, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism. But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and

lexical shifts Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

§5. Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges, which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

§6. We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character Then variations between aspirate stops and *h*, mostly concerning *h* and *bh*, and in fact mostly interchanges between *grāh* and *grāh*

§7. Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between *kṣ*, *ṭṣ*, *ps*, and *ch*). The numerous variations of labial stops with *m* and *v* are partly graphic (*b* and *v*, *p* and *v*), partly morphological (suffixes containing *m* and *v*), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between *b* and *v*, a very familiar phenomenon)

§8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character. Those between *y* and *r*, *l*, *h* are not many nor very significant Those between *y* and *v* are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized The tendency of the Taittiriya school to prefer *v* to *y* is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel *u* to the vowel *i*. The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between *r* and *l* (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between *d* and *l*, or *dh* and *lh* (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage).

§9. With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between

and *ru(rū)* with *r* show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between *aya* and *e*, and *ava* and *o*.

§14. Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels. Most commonly the vowel (generally *i*) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis); the insertion is especially common after *r* and before a sibilant or *h*. Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalic section, which concerns the writing of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalic pronunciation of *y* and *v* (as *i* and *u*).

§15. Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds. We take up first metathesis of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining); then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel. This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplology and dittology.

§16. Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values. The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson.

§17. A class of rime-words also throws light on the methods of text tradition. On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words which are easily subject to association are substituted one for another. There is no rubric in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably.

§18. Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities. Doubtless a careful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section. Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind, they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back.

§19. The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one. A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section.

khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB · *bajābojopakāśinī* HG Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure.

§22. The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism; we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76-7):

mā nah kaéci pralhān (ApŚ *praghān*) .. KS ApŚ
svāyām tanū (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) †*ciye* (RV. † *ciye*) *nādharmārām*
 (ApMB *nā'ha°*, MG *bādha°*) RV. ApMB MG.

§23. Under aspirates and *h* occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute *h* for aspirate mutes. Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is; but see Wackernagel I p. 252f., who holds that *h* regularly replaced *dh* and *bh* in the RV dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel. Cf. Ascoli, KZ 17. 258ff.:

asamheyam [perhaps for *asamhycyam?*] *parābharan* JB. · *asambharyam* *parā°* AV. See §121.

ardhrah śtikakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te dityāh (KSA. *vārhīnasas te 'dityāh*) TS KSA. So the single ms of KSA; v. Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī°*; the form with *h* for *dh* is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms reading. See §122.

kakubham (VSK. TS ApŚ *kakuhām*) *rūpam vṛṣabharya* (KS. *rūpam ṛṣa°*) *rocale* ... VS VSK. TS MS. KS ŚB ApŚ. MŚ. The adjective *lakuḥā* (with regular *h* according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV, where *kakubha* is not known. See §120.

§24. Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154-61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between *d* and *j* before *y*, with obvious Prakritic bearings; the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG:

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*, MS *°riyo jyotatām*) . VS TS.
 MS KS ŚB TB

ava jyām va dhanwanah AV. Vait ApMB : *ava dyām va dhanvānah* HG

§25. On Linguals and Dentals see our discussion below. §163:

avalasya (SV. *avalasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV. We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that *avata*, 'well', is a pure Prakritism, and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore.

§26. The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf Wackernagel I §135). Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of *ch* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps* (§§183-6); in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following

achalābhñh (KSA *acharā°*, MS. *atsarā°* in p p, in s p *matsarā°*, VS *rkṣalā°*) *kapṛñjalān* VS TS MS KSA The same word appears as *ṛcharā* in AV 10 9 23 Either MS or VS (or both?) must have hyper-Saṁskritic back-formations

§27. The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic *khy* for *ḷṣ* (§§190-1) Tho the Tait form is none too clear, it seems that the ŚŚ has a corruption of it

udhmasyeva praḷṣāyatah (ŚŚ. *prakhya°*) TB TA ŚŚ. ApŚ

§28. There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between *j* and *y* (§§192-3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically Cf Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival

sauyāmim (ŚG. *sauyāmim*, with both sc *tarpayāmi*) AG ŚG —Cf AV. 19 34 2a, *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśih* (mss, wrongly emended in edition), for which read *yāh* (or *yāś ca*) *krtyās*, or *yā grtsyas*, see Whitney's note to Transl, and our §192

§29. The interchange between *v* and *m* may be Prakritic, cf Wackernagel I p 197, it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223-5) That between *b* and *v* (§§206-19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not, cf Wackernagel I p 183f

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañcasva*) *prthivi mā nī bādhatāh* (TA *m bādhatāh*) RV AV TA

yatra bānāh (VS *vāṇāh*) *sampatanti* RV SV VS TS AG Both *b* and *v* are found in the RV in this word, it is not known which is original.

§30. The thoro confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf Wackernagel I p 225f) A few examples out of many may be quoted here, for *ś* and *s* see especially §§274-9

m srutayo (AŚ *vsrutayo*, ŚŚ *visru°*) *yathā pathah* SV AŚ ŚŚ And other cases of *śru* for *sru* (so that BR even postulate a 'root' *śru*, 'flow') Here *s* is original and *ś* secondary The contrary is the case in the next

sukeṣu me (AV *sukeṣu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ

§31. Much less numerous are the variations between *ś* and *s*, yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §§288-90)

nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat (VS *arṣat*) VS VSK IśāU. The proper form is *arṣat*, VS comm. *ṛśa galau*

§32. There are very few variations between *s* and *ś* (§294):
ye vṛkṣeṣu (KS. *raṇeṣu*) *laṣṭiñjarāḥ* (TS *saṣṭi*°) VS TS. MS KS

Thought of the word *sasya* doubtless influenced TS, and cf *laṣṭa* for the other form (a kind of haplology in each case); see §278

§33. The later confusion between *lh* and *ś* (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense; cf Wackernagel I p 136) finds surprisingly little representation here; in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295):

kaṣolkāya svāhā TA TAA.: *lhaḥhalkāya svāhā* MahānU.

§34. There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between *ś* and *lh*, which must be similar in character; see §296 below

§35. Under presence or 'absence of nasals and anusvara occur some variations which remind us of Pali-Prakrit *siha* for *sinha* and the like, altho usually lexical considerations enter in (cf §300).

pūṣṇe 'āghṛṇaye svāhā TA *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em., mss *āpṛṇaye*) *śvāhā*

MS *āghṛṇi* is regular

§36. Under presence or absence of *y* we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological *y* between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tidger' (§§338-44). To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse; but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present. It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of *v*, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff.) - *vaśvānaram ṛta ā* (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jālam agnim* RV. SV. VS TS MS. KS

PB ŚB. The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS shows a tendency to avoid hiatus by use of the glide-sound *y*.

§37. In Pali and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for etymology. The conditions are best stated by Geiger, *Pālī* §§5, 6. Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393-8), tho again complicated by other considerations

agne samrād iṣe rūye (ApŚ *rayyay*) . AŚ ApŚ : *iṣe rūye* . VS MS

ŚB TB (See §396) While the two parallel stems *ray* and *rayi* are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to

§38. There are also (§§406-16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants, this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid.

abhinne khilye (TB *khille*) *nidadhāt devayun* RV. AV TB This is a

purely phonetic, Prakritic variant, TB can mean nothing but an equivalent of *lhllye* (comm *lhlībhhūle*).

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629-45) The Prakritic nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between *r* and *a*, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations.

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV *durhryn°*) RV SV. The SV restores Sanskrit vocalism, as against the Prakritic form of RV

tejo yaśasvi sthaviṛam samiddham (ŚG *samṛddham*) ŚG. PG ApMB HG Here ŚG alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a *v* *l* *samiddham* (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with *tejas*?)

puramdaro gotrabhū (MS *°bhṛd*, TB *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuk* VS MS KS TB A hyper-Sanskritism in MS, see §636

tvaṣṭrīmantas (MS MŚ. *tvaṣṭri°*, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

samvatsara ṛtubhīh samvīdānah (KS *°bhīś cākṛpānah*, ApŚ *°bhīś cākupānah*) MS KS ApŚ

§40. Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with *ri* or *ru* for Sanskrit *r*; and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit *r* as *ri* or (e.g. Marāṭhī) *ru* should be remembered in this connexion. Among the variants *ru* for *r* shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants Besides *tvaṣṭrīmantas* (*tvaṣṭri°*) etc., §39, we may quote from §§666-84

trṣucyavaśo (MS *trṣu°*) *juhvo nāgneh* RV MS The adverb *trṣu* is the only possible form here, the variant of MS is purely phonetic *bhṛmum* (TB *bhrumum*) *dhāmanto apa gā avṛnata* RV TB The mss of TB seem to be unanimous on *bhrumum*, an otherwise unknown form.

pruṣvā aśrubhīh VS. MS *aśrubhīh* *pruṣvām* (TS *prṣ°*) TS KSA The form *pruṣvā* occurs a number of times in Tait texts; it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for *pruṣvā*

§41. Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703-12, 728-32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indic Among the clearest phonetic variants are

avārāya kevarītam VS *pāryāya kavartam* TB The usual form is *kai°* *sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS Several mss of MS and its *p p* read *svaupaśā*

§42. The familiar Prakritic reduction of *aya* to *e* and *ava* to *o* is paralleled by our §§744-9, e.g.,

namah kinsilāya ca lṣayanāya (MS *lṣenāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS.

lṣena is otherwise unknown.

to-to (MS. KS MŚ *tara-tara*, TS. ApŚ *to-to*) *rāyah* VS. TS. MŚ KS
ŚB ApŚ. MŚ

§43. The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally *i*, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or *h*, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751-65):

lan nah parṣad (MS *pariṣad*) *atī dviṣah* TS MS. Cf Wackernagel
I p 57

CHAPTER II SURD AND SONANT MUTES

§44. These are treated in the following order *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *t* and *d*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*, *kh* and *gh*, *th* and *dh* (For *g* and *kh* see §82; *t* and *dh*, §97f.; *p* and *bh*, §§112-14) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change They concern, too, for the most part rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritic influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of *k* and *g*, there is a preponderance of the cases in which *k* appears to be original

k and *g*

§45. We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate, both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools-

alhāham anulāminī (MŚ °*gāminī*) TS ApŚ MŚ How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV 1 34 5cd, *yathā mām kāmīny aso yathā man nāpagā asah* Yet MŚ (all mss) is no doubt secondary

grnatā nah svśtaye AV *kṛnūtam nah svśtīm* (MS KS °*taṁ*) VS TS MS KS 'Swg for us unto well-being', 'make well being for us' The meter of AV is easier, but the *āpri* hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf Bloomfield, *Aiharvaṇśa* 54, Keith, *HOS* 18 clx) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be The word *grnatā* is preceded by *grnata* (other forms of *grn*° in the other Samhitās), this suggests that *grnatā* is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered

mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS °*hnā*) *cikūtnū* (MS *cikūtam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikūtvam*) TS MS KS AŚ *cikūtnū* of TS (presumably 'intelligent' tho not quoted in the lexicons) and *jigatnū* of KS ('swift') are both reasonable See RV 7 65 1, where *jigatnu* is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuna (wrongly Oldenberg, *Noten* 2 50)

namah kṛchrebhyah kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namah MS KS · *namo gr̥tsebhyo gr̥tsapatibhyaś* . . . VS TS. See §185

talo na vicakitsati (VSK IśāU. *vjugupsate*) VS VSK IśāU.: *na tato vjugupsate* KU.: *na tadā vicakitsati* ŚB BṛhU 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate The Kāṇva recension of BṛhU. has *jugupsate* Cf AV. 13 2 15b

dhṛpsyam vā samcakara janebhych MS : *yad vādāsyam samjagūrā janebhyah* TB.: *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA Cf *dāsyann adāsyann uta sam gr̥nāmi* (TA and AVPpp *uta iā lar.ṣyan*) AV. TA.: *adāsyann agna uta sam gr̥nāmi* AV In all these passages *sam-gr̥* seems to mean 'devour, eat', the doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV 6 71. 3 and 6. 119. 1) If 'devour' is right, *sam-cakara* 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning

§46. We list next cases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, tho correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots *kṛ* and *gam*.

ukhām (ApŚ *garbham*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ. *aganma*) KŚ ApŚ. MŚ 'We have made the leaking *ukhā* diseaseless.' Tho *aganma* may serve at a pinch, *akarma* seems to be the true reading; see VV I p 211.

urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran AV : *ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman* RV KS. The original RV, 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV., 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney).

vadhūr jajāna (AV. *jagāya*, MS KS *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakṛj*) *janitrī* AV. VŚ TS MS. KS ApMB ŚG See Whitney on AV.

3. 10 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of *navagaj*, the European guesses are scarcely better. ŚG. tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand.

imam loṣam (TA *lokam*) *ndadhan mo aham riṣam* RV AV. TA. 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury.' TA *lokam* (after *imam*, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here The comm in fact interprets it as *loṣtam* (= *loṣam*), etymologizing monstrously (*lokyate dṛśyate iti loko loṣtah*) Some mss and the comm of AV read like TA, however

pary āgāram (AŚ *āhāram*) *puna:-punah* AV. AŚ ŚŚ Only *āgāram* makes sense; something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form' The preceding (in AV, preceding but one) *pāda* is *yadi* (*yadīm*, *lelm*) *hanat katham hanat*

indrāpāsya phalagam ApMB *indrāyayāsya śephām alīkam* .HG The correct reading is certainly *phalagam*

mano jagāma dūrakam (PB *dūragāh*) RV. PB The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where *dūrakam* belongs with *manas*, *dūragāh* (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next *pāda* *tan ma āvartayā punah* This, according to the PB comm., who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet *dūragāh* does not fit at all)

rājānah satyam kṛnvnāh (AV *grhnāh*, but Ppp *kṛnvāno*) RV AV Whitney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better

tasya rathagrtsaś (MS **kṛtsnaś*, KS **kṛtsaś*) *ca rathaujās ca senānigrāmanyau* (TS *senānī*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The word *ratha*° is a proper name, 'chariot-clever', **kṛtsa* is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to **kṛtsna*, which does not fit

abhūr grṣṭinām (AV **v āpīnām* mss, R-Wh *vaśānām*, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc, ApMB and one ms of HG. *āpīnām*, HG. *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipā u* (HG ApMB **pāvā*) AV. (bis) HG ApMB. *bhavā kṛṣṭinām* (AV *gr*°, but Ppp *kṛ*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV **pā u*) AV PG. ApMB HG See Whitney on AV 19 24 5, Roth, ZDMG 48 110 The word must mean 'people'; 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyana's ludicrous attempt to justify it).

prānān samkrośaḥ MS *samkrośān prānāḥ* (VS **krośaḥ prānān*) VS TS. *samghośān* (ms **gośān*) *prānāḥ* KSA Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA (ś for ś, loss of r) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant

§47. We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools.

nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam Vait *nikīrya tubhyam madhye* ApŚ *niḡīrya tubhyam madhvah* MŚ *niḡīrya sarvā ādhīh* KŚ The passages are unintelligible, *kṛ*, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with *ni*, which points, perhaps, to *niḡīrya* 'swallowing down' (note *madhvah* in MŚ)

lena samhanu kṛnmasi AV.: *lena sann anugrhnāsi* HG The meaning of AV. is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note). The individually irreproachable words of HG mouth over an uncomprehended text. Cf. §386

arepasah sacelasah (etc) *svasare manyumattamās* (SV. ApŚ. °*mantas*) *citc goh* (SV. *citā goh*, ApŚ. *cidākoh*) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. *cidākoh*, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem **cidāku*, is corrupt *sakma yat te goh* MS KS.. *sagme* (TS *samyat*) *te goh* VS TS. ŚB 'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS. KS, perhaps correctly and originally. In VS ŚB. *sagme* looks indeed like a Prakritism for *śakma* But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf however the adjective *śagma*, from root *śak*) It seems, rather, vaguely connected with *sa* and the root *gam* VS comm, followed by Griffith, *sagme yajamāne* (!), *goh gauh* (very simple!). BR read in TS. *sampdīte* with one ms (p p. *samyāt*, *te*), but the comm, followed by Weber, Ist 13 197, takes *samyāt* as =*samyak*. So also Keith ('to match thy cow'). BR regard *sampdīte* as =*sagme*, both meaning 'Einswerden im Handel'; they render 'wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst' They therefore derive *sagma* from *sa* and *gam*.

rudra yat te krayi (VS KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS MŚ *giri*-) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmān*) *hulam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible The reading *giri*- is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra's mountain habitat

idam aham sarpāṇām dandaśūlānām grīvā upa grathnām (MŚ mss *kṛtsnām*; Knauer conjectures *kṛnatmi*) TS ApŚ MŚ. 'I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents' But *kṛtsnām* is not *kṛnatmi*, and the MŚ. may have merely a corruption of TS., in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS Somewhat the reverse of this is found in *pumān enam* etc, §48

Cf. also *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśih* etc., §192.

§48. In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter. We believe that we are now dealing with what are essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions:

invakā (MS. °*gā*) *nakṣatram* MS KS. This name for the constellation Mrgaśīrṣa is recorded in its *g* form only here, and in its *k* form according to BR. (V. 1144) only once more (TB. 1. 5 1. 1). The priority of *invaka*, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS. may have felt the word as a compound of *inva* plus *ga*, *gā*.

sū prasūr (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenulā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG HG ApMB
dhenulā is a pet-word to *dhenu* 'milk cow'. In *dhenugā* there
 may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem *go*, 'cow',
 but the form is essentially Prakritic

āśuh kāṣṭhām wāśaran (read °*ram* with comm, Ppp, Whitney, and
 Bloomfield) AV. 2 14 5b All mss *gāṣṭhām*, *kā°* is emendation
 Ppp also (ms) *gā°* (em Barret, JAOS 30 193. *kā°*), comm *glāṣṭhām*
pīlah (KSA *piṅah*) *lṣvīṅkā nīlāṣṭīṣṇī te* 'ryamne (KSA °*mṇah*) TS
 KSA The word is always *pīla*, except here.

sṛlāhastā (TS KS *sṛlāvanto*, MS *sṛgavanto*, one ms *sṛlā°*) *nīṣāṇṇīṇah*
 VS TS MS KS The stem concerned is always *sṛlā* 'spear',
 except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation,
 perhaps based on these readings

namah sṛkāyibhyo (TS *sṛkāyibhyo*, MS *sṛgāyibhyo*) *yīghāṇṣadbhyah*
 VS TS MS. KS See preceding

vīnāganakīno (ŚB °*gīno*) *devair imam yajamānam samgāyala* ŚB ApŚ
 Also: *vīnāganakīnah pūrvāṇ saha sukrdbhī rājabhīr imam yaja-*
mānam samgāyala ApŚ *vīnāganakīnah pūrānair imam yajamānam*
rājabhīh sādhuḥkrdbhīh samgāyala ŚB Cf further KŚ 20 3 2
 Altho the compound *vīnā°* does not occur outside these passages,
 its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it
 seems that it must contain *-ganaka*, with suffixal *ka*. Perhaps
 the *g* is due to assimilation to the preceding *g*, or to sophistication
 from the root *gā*, 'sing' (so comm on ŚB and KŚ, both of which
 implausibly understand *vīnā-gaṇa* as meaning 'a quantity of
 [various kinds of] lutes'), cf Conc under *gāyalam*.

puṇjikasthalā (KS † *puṇjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau*
 VS TS MS. KS. ŚB This name of an Apsaras appears in later
 literature, always with *k*

pumān enam tanuta ut kṛnatti RV. *pumān enad vayatī ud grṇatti* AV.
 See Whitney's note on AV 10 7 43. *grṇatti* is doubtless a mere
 corruption, promoted by confusion with the root *grath*, *granth* 'tie',
 which with *ud* is nearly synonymous with *ut-kṛ*. More or less the
 reverse of this shift is found above, §47, *īdam aham* etc

§49. In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence
 to support the greater originality of either *k* or *g*, the words are almost
 or quite ἀπαξ λεγόμενα

vīryam kuhābhyām (KSA *gu°*) TS KSA. A part of the horse's body
 For *ku°* the TS comm says, *hastayor madhyasamdhī* (cf *viṣu-kuh*)
 The other form suggests perhaps *guhya*, 'pudenda'. Neither is
 recorded lexically.

- pratukramanam kuṣṭhābhyām* (KS. *gu°*) TS KSA.: *ākramanam ku°* MS
Both otherwise unknown; like the preceding they designate a part
of the horse's body. Bhāskara, *haṣṭaparārdhamani*, Keith, 'the
two centres of the loins'. Cf. *kuṣṭhikā*, 'dew-claw, spur', etc
agne lahya MS KS. MŚ (*agne*) *gahya* TS Neither in lexs, and
neither interpretable Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking
of *gāhya*)
salilah saligah sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣānā vyantu svāhā MS KS :
lelah salekah sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣānā vyantu TS ApŚ
All isolated and uninterpretable.
grāmyamañkīradāsakau ApŚ · *grāmyam mañgīradāsakau* MŚ : *vyāgh-*
ram mañgīradāsa gauh Vait In Vait read *mañgīradāsagau*, or
possibly with Caland, °*dāsakau* Two proper names, Mañgīra or
Mañkīra, and Dāsaka (or Dās°), are involved
namo vah kīrkebhya (MS MŚ *namo girikebhya*) *devānām hṛdayebhyaḥ*
VS TS. MS KS ŚB. MŚ In such a formula, of the Śatarudrya,
either epithet remains doubtful, tho *gīrīka*, of course, suggests
'mountain-born' like *gīrīśa* etc The possibility of different lexical
interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably
purely phonetic
uruka urukasya (ApŚ. *uruga* 1 *ugasya*) *te vācā vayam sam bhaktena*
gamemahi (MS °*mahy agne gṛhapate*) MS ApŚ. Neither form is in
the lexs; *uruga* may be felt as *uru-ga*, 'wide-going' (so Caland).
Is *uruka* some bird of good omen?
vi te bhinaḍmi takarīm (KS °*rim*, AVPpp [Rcṭh] *tagarīm*, AV. *mehanam*)
AV TS KS. ApŚ There is no evidence as to the meaning of
takarī (°*ri*, *tag°*) except the context and the variant *mehanam*;
and none whatever as to its derivation or original form.

c and j

§50. Prakṛtic interchanges between the two sounds go in both directions (Pischel, §202) This of itself makes difficult the appraisal of their phonetic aspect in the variants Moreover all variations produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority of one or the other text We are unable to discover anything like a concerted movement, either from *c* to *j* or vice versa But on the whole we have the impression that the main current is from *c* to *j*, and that it is Prakṛtic in character (*prāñjo* from *prāñco*, *ud-aḥ* from *ud-ac*).

§51. Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms *vācam* and *vājam*. Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning. Their interchange begins in the RV itself.

pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati RV (both).

Here there seems reason to regard *vācam* as prior, see *RVRep* 410. In the next following cases *vācam* is also original.

vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu VSK *vācaspatir vācam* (VS *† 9 1, ŚB *† 5 1 1 16 *vājam*) *nah svadatu* VS KS ŚB SMB. *vācaspatir vācam adya svadati* (MS °tu) *nah* (TB *te*, Poona ed *nah*) TS MS KS TB. The word *vācaspatir*, with the preponderance of texts, shows that *vājam* is secondary.

pavitravantah pari vācam (TA *vājam*) *āsate* RV. TA N. The older *vācam* refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig).

premām vājam vājasāte avantu AV *premām vācam vīśvām avantu vīśve* TS MS KS. In all texts the preceding pāda reads *marutām manve adhi no* (AV *me*) *bruwantu*. The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV 3 14 1, 5 29, 3, 1J 78, 1), who may well help the *vāc* of human priests. AV is a banal recast.

vācam asme n yacha devāyuvam VS ŚB *vājam asmin n dhehi devāyuvam* MS. *tapojām vācam asme n yacha devāyuvam* TA. In MS a specious lectio facilior, *tapojām* in TA, as well as the *vip-rānām devayā vācas* of RV. 5 76 1, prove that the other texts are right.

§52. In the remaining cases it seems likely that *vājam* is the original word.

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ *vācam asmāt*) TS MŚ *sā samnaddhā sanuḥi vājam emam* (MG *sunuḥi bhāgadheyam*) AV † MG 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this)), or the like. *bhāgadheyam* is a sort of synonym of *vājam*. In MŚ *asmāt* refers to the girdle with which the Prati-prasthātṛ binds the woman as he recites this verse (*iti pratiprasthātā yoktrena patnīm samnahyati*), *vācam* is simple but secondary.

indram vājam v mūcyadhvam TS KS TB. *indrāya vācam v mūcyadhvam* MS MŚ. The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is *ajījapata*, cf. *ajījapatendram vājam* VS ŚB. As the interested person is a king, *vājam* is clearly required, *vācam*, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvatī', is far-fetched. Cf. *vājajic* and *vājajityāyā*. in Conc.

asredhanta itana vājam acha RV *adrogāvitā vācam acha* AV. The

poor meter and general corruption of AV. (in which RV. 3. 14. 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible, see Whitney's note. The *vācam* would fit fairly well, RV is original at all points.

Analogous to these is one variant between *vacasā* and *oṣasā*,
sam eta viśvā (AV † *viśve*) *vacasā* (SV *oṣasā*) *patim divah* AV SV — Ppp
 evidently means to read *oṣasā*, its text, as quoted by Roth, has
viśvā oham ā. This supports SV, tho the otherwise corrupt Śauna-
 kiya text makes as good sense as its rivals 'Go all together to the
 lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer).' See, however,
 above under *vācam asme*. §51

§53. There are next a pair of riming variants in which *ud-ac*, 'draw out' ('schöpfen', of liquids) seems to vary with *ud-aj*. This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, tho *ud-aj* may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym 'drive out' in the sense of 'obtain, acquire'. Thus in RV. 1. 95. 7 *uc chukram atham ajale śmaśmāt*, which we take with Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 2. 189, to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment'. Otherwise *ud-aj* is the favorite word for driving cattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to *ud-ac*.

aviraghnir ud aṇantv (ApMB *acantv*) *āpah* AV. ApMB 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons'; cf. *vyukṣat krūram ud acantv āpah* ApMB 1. 1. 7. Weber, *Ind. St.* 5. 198, and Whitney on AV. 14. 1. 39 go the length of emending *aṇantv* to *acantv*, which is doubtful practice (cf. §3). But probably the mantra was first composed with *acantv*, despite RV. 1. 95. 7 above.

samudrād udajanī vah (ApŚ *udacann īva*) *srucā* MS ApŚ. Here MS is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root *jan*, 'was born out of the ocean'.

§54. There are two cases in which derivatives of roots *can* and *jan* vary, it seems that they divide the honors of originality.

caniṣṭhad (SV *ja**) *agne aṅgirah* RV SV. Little can be done with the anomalous *caniṣṭhad* (Whitney, *Grammar*, §906b, Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8. 74. 11); less with *janīṣṭhad*, tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.

sāvitro 'sī canodhāh (MS *janadhāyāh*) VS MS ŚB. Cf. *tuttho 'sī janadhāyāh* (PB °*yah*) MS KS. PB. MŚ: *stuto 'sī janadhāh* TB ApŚ 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher)'. The preponderance of texts favors *jana-*; there is no other criterion; both are reasonable enough.

§55. In two other individual cases the change is clearly from *c* to *j*, tho in both the forms with *j* are tolerably defensible.

prāñco agāma (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV AV. TA See §2
devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS *devāyuvam*) *prnacmi* (so MS by emendation,
 mss mostly *prnaymi*! ApŚ *prnaymi*) *yajñasyāyuse* MS KS ApŚ
 MŚ *prnaymi* (all mss of ApŚ) is supported by Dhātup and by
anavaprgna RV 1 152 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p 117
 and doubtfully by Whitney (Roots) under *prc* See however
 Scheftelowitz, *IF* 33 136, and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* 1 33 (root
 **parzg*) But the matter is uncertain, the forms with *g, j* may be
 based on root *prc*, and due to proportional analogy with other
 7th-class roots in *j*, which have *k* by internal sandhi in certain
 forms (e g. *bhanakti bhagna bhanaymi = prnakti prgna prnaymi*)
 —In this connexion also

upa mā jakṣur (!) *upa mā manīṣā* KŚ 13 2 19, where *jakṣur* is either
 misprint or Prakritic anomaly for *cakṣur*

§56. In several cases the variation between *c* and *j* is in the redupli-
 cation of roots in *k* and *g*, which latter it really concerns, see §45
mūlāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS **hnā*) *cikītnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*,
 AŚ *cikītvam*) TS MS KS AŚ

talo na vicikītsati (*vijugupsate*), etc
dhiṛsyam vā samcakara janebhyah, etc

§57. The remaining cases are miscellaneous

somah sutaḥ pūyate aṇyamānah (SV *suta ṛcyate pūyamānah*) RV SV
 Here the original form of root *aṇ* (*añj*), 'adorn', is replaced in SV
 by *ṛc*, 'praise', a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency
tve kratum api vṛñjanti viśve (AV **prñcanti bhūri*) RV AV (both) SV
 TS AA ApŚ MŚ 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind' The
 combination *api aprāk* once more AV 10 4 26, and nowhere else
 For *api varj* (original) see Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35 281

agne vyacasva (RV MS *yajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV AV MS 'O Agni,
 make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth' AV
 has a contaminated lectio facilior, cf RV 10 111 2 *mahānti cit*
sam vivyācā rajānsi, and the converse, RV 8 12 24, *na yam vivikto*
rodasī; or 10 112 4, *yasya mahimānam ime mahī rodasī*
nāviviklām

divas (SV *divah*) *prṣtham adhi tṛṣṭhanī celasā* (SV † *rohanī tejasā*) RV.
 SV. With metathesis of *c(g)* and *t*

ud usriyāh srjate (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB See §3
anāhanasyam vasanam carīṣnu (ApMB HG *ja°*, PG *jarīṣnuh*) ŚG
 PG ApMB HG As an epithet of a garment, *jarīṣnu* would mean
 possibly 'much worn' or the like, as an epithet of the subject,

aham (PG), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age'. To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG) ja° seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŚG *carīṣṇu* (Oldenberg, 'wallend')

jāmim (KS † *camī*) *mā hīnsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB ApŚ MŚ · *mā jāmim moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV —The KS reading (of a single ms) should certainly be corrected to *jāmim*

gharmas trīṣug vi rājati (ŚŚ *rocate*) VS ŚB ŚŚ Hardly belongs here, *rocate* is a perfect synonym of *rājati*.

yuktās tīro vimṣjah (comm *vibhṣjah*) *sūryasya* PB : *yunaṣmi tīro vipṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ *vīrtah sūryah save* [or, *savah*]) TS ApŚ MŚ In PB the comm has two equally fatuous guesses on *vibhṣjah* 'dividers' (of the sun) But there is little more sense in *vipṛcah*, apparently 'separators' (of the sun); it seems to be applied collectively to *pṛthivī*, *vāyu*, and *vāc* It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR take it Keith, doubtfully, 'spaces', Caland and Henry, *Agniṣṭoma*, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'

girā ca (AV *virājah*) *śruṣṭih sabharā asan nah* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The AV reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP's mss (and his oral reciters) and the comm *śruṣṭih* for *śru*° Whitney adopts *śnu*°, which Ppp. also intends with its *sunīṣṭas* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 207) See §865

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jartṛbhya*, MS *caṭṛbhya*, p p *vaṭṛbhya*) *ātṛdah* (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB The original is obscure enough, but MS is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible Note its loss of final *h* (§384)

t and d

§58. We have found practically no variants here; the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (VV I p 217).

visvāvasum namasā gīrbhar īde (ApMB *ītte*) RV ApMB

t and d

§59. Here we find, first, a number of cases in which *d* is substituted for *t* as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable:

citrā etagvā (TB *eda*°) *anumādyāsah* RV MS TB The comm on TB

ignores the word. The etymology of *etama* (AJP 17. 426) furnishes no opportunity for the change.

pārūataghñim (TB °*daḥñim*) *acare supliḥḥ RV MS KS TB N pārūataghñim* (sc *sararātīm*), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance' TB comm has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed *pāra* + *atadaghñim*, root *dagh*, 'something like 'reaching across' (*pāra*, 'further bank').

sa im pāhu ya rjīṣi tarudrah (VaradapU *tarudrah*) RV AB GB TB. NrpU VaradapU Perhaps vague popular etymology in *tarudrah*, as if 'tree-cleaving'.

ime 'rāt-sur ime subhūtam (MŚ *sūdam*) *al ran TB ApŚ MŚ*. The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends *subhūdam*, for *subhūtam*, since it is followed immediately by

ima udrāṣiḥ ūrina (MŚ *imā uddhāṣicūrina*) *ime durbl ūtam* (MŚ °*dam*) *al ran TB ApŚ MŚ* Cf prec

agotām anapalyatām (vulgate with most mss *anapadyatām*) AV 4 17 6b Some mss and the comm read *anapalyatām*, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with *agotām* Cf RV 3 54 18 *yuyota no anapalyāni . paśumān astu gātuh*.

yadā rākhātayau vadatah ApŚ *yadā rāghaṣi taradaha* Vait . *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantah* MŚ See §§70, 272a Vait is thoroly Prakritic

§60. In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary *t* to secondary *d*.
īayam hi vām purutamāso (AV. °*dam*°) *aśvinā* AV AŚ ŚŚ. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, *lāru*, but in juxtaposition to the word *aśvinā*) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV 7 73 1 (*purudansā purutamā*) ? Roth, ZDMG. 48 107, and Whitney on AV. 7 73 1, consider the AV form, 'having many houses', corrupt

mā me hārdi tvṣā (MŚ. *hārdim dviṣā*) *radhīh* TS MŚ A replica of RV 8 79 8c *mā no hārdi* etc, *dviṣā* is lect fac

sato iah pitaro deṣma VS *sado* etc ApŚ SMB GG In VS 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you' The others with lect fac, 'a seat, O Fathers' etc, this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym *grha* in the preceding *pāda* *grhān nah pitaro datta*. Cf the next

mukham sad asya śira it salena (TB *sadena*) VS MS KS TB The texts all intend *sad asya* (so MS p p and VS comm), TB comm apparently reads *sam asya* VS comm. takes *salena* from a stem

sata, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem *sat* (in *sad*) = *sata*, 'chāndasah'. TB *sadena*, taken by its comm. to mean 'scat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching *sad-asya* Cf. *prec*

śivā rutasya (VSK *śiva ṛtasya*, TS and v.l. of MS. *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS °jā) VS. VSK. TS MS KS. See §684.

gāva upāvatāvalam (SV. *upa vadāvaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. In SV. a form of *upa-vad*; in the others, of *upa-av*. SV. is uninterpretable; its verb is singular, but the subject can only be *gāva*.

svasāra āpo abhi gā ulāsaran (SV. *udāsaran*) RV. SV. In SV. a form of *ud-ā-sr* (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, *ula+asaran*.

ya ātrnatty (ViDh *ātrnoty*, SamhitopB. *ātrnoty*) *avidathena* (VāDh. *avidathena*) karnau SamhitopB VāDh. ViDh. N. *avidathena* can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic *vidatha* is very questionable at this stage The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt.

yathāpah pravatā yanti TA. TU. Kauś : *yathā yanti prapadah* SMB. The latter is secondary; Jorgensen, 'wie die Wege gehen'. In his note he suggests *pratipadah*, which is not enticing in view of the variant.

agne tām vettha yadī te jātavedah HG. ApMB. *tvam vettha yadī te jāta-vedah* RV VS *yadī*, 'if', is lect *fac*.

ā vatso jagatā (AG *jāyatām*, PG *jagadarh*) *saha* AV. AG PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *jagadarh* (comm 'guards', *anugai rakṣakarh*) is certainly poor and secondary. The comm. however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows:

īśānāḥ jagadarh saha PG : *īśāno jagatas patih* AV. TS KS ApMB. The context is different; the two pādas are hardly variants of each other. PG comm *jagadarh*, *anucararh* Cf. *prec*.

hivā na ūrjam pra patāt patiṣṭhah (AV *prapadāt patiṣṭhah*) RV. AV. MG In RV., 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying' AV, doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV. version).

vanā vanantī dhṛṣatā (MŚ mss °dā; one, *dhṛṣadā*) *rujantah* RV. TS JB. ŚB MŚ The corruption of MŚ mss is due to thought of *dhṛṣad*, 'mill-stone'. RV 8. 49 (Vāl 1) 4 may have *dhṛṣat* in this sense.

But see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on this passage

amoci (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād dūrītād avartiyar* (AV. *avadyūt*) AV TB ApMB *avartī* 'distress' seems likely to be original

ā sutrāvne (MS KS *bhūyṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvrnānah* AV MS KS
oṣṣṭhadāvne sumatim grnānāh TS See §355

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in *d* and *t* the *t* seems older, they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which *d* is older

§61. In the next group we find different division of the words, but the change is still from *t* to *d* (cf §65)

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS *madhumad ābharan*) VS MS TB
 Either reading is interpretable, in VS TB *madhu*^a goes with *pathā*, in MS with the object of *ābharan* We judge that the former is probably original, cf RV 10 24 6 *madhuman me parāyanam madhumat punar āyanam*

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG *caraty*) *ajām* (AG *ca rātryām*) AG ApMB
 MG *yena bhūriś carā dvam* PG The original form is that of ApMB MG, of which AG is a corruption PG changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, *carās* (VV I p 235), this is connected with the further change that introduces *dvam*

tvam no devatālaye (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV —Ppp reads *devatālaye*, indicating that AV (Ś) is secondary It makes, however, a sort of crude sense 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving'

arepasah sacetasah cīte goh (*cūtā goh, cūdākoh*), see §47 Note the metathesis of surd and sonant qualities in the two consonants (*t-g, d-h*)

jivann eva prah̄ tat te (so Jorgensen for SMB, v 1 *prah̄datte*) *dadhām*
 (SMB *dadām*) TA SMB † *jivann eva prah̄datte dadām* MŚ.

The latter is corrupt

§62 The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from *d* to *t* do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the *t* forms represent a later or easier reading Thus in the first case the *t* is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables *ahā neta* (GB *netar a-*, ŚŚ *ahād eta*) *sann avcetanān* AV AB GB ŚŚ *ahā ned asann apurogavān* (so divide) JB —This is followed by

yajñā (JB Caland, *yajñā*) *nela sann apurogavāsah* (JB Caland, *avcetanāsah*) AV AB GB JB *yajñād eta sann apurogavāsah* ŚŚ Gaastra reads GB as *yajñā neta asann apuro*^a, and so in the prece, read in GB *netar asann* Weber, *Ind St* 9 306, suggests correctly *ned asann* for AV etc The true form of the two pādas is *ahā ned asann av*^a, *yajñā ned asann apuro*^a, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader' So

Caland, ZDMG 72 24f., who quotes JB. as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives. AV and ŚŚ are hopeless, but GB (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense

§63. But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB), either reading makes reasonable sense, tho for various reasons we believe that the *d* is older.

pari doṣād udarpiṭhah KŚ : *parītoṣāt tad arpiṭha* ApŚ. Preceded in KŚ by *yo me 'dya payaso rasah*; in ApŚ. by *yan me 'tra payasah*. It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission. Caland adopts *pari doṣād* ('without [*pari*, sc. my] fault') from KŚ, and reads *udarpiṭah*. We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ to accord with it; *parītoṣāt*, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect. fac., is clearly what ApŚ intended

godhāyasam vi dhanasair adardah (TB *atardat*) RV. AV MS TB. The antique and rare *adardah* (3d sing imperf intensive of *dar*) puzzles TB sufficiently to provoke the synonym *atardat*

prayo me hṛdo (MŚ *huto*, v 1 *huto*) 'si (MŚ † *bhava*) TS MŚ. The latter is simply a lect fac

sapta rājāno ya udābhīṣiklāh KS AA . *anu sapta rājāno ya utābhīṣiklāh* TB. The TB stumbles over *udā*, 'with water', and eases it up to the colorless adverb *uta*

yāś ca (AV *yā*) *devīr* (SMB *devyo*, PG *devīs*) *antān* (AV *antān*, PG *tantūn*) *abhito* 'dadanta (PG SMB *tatantha*) AV. PG. SMB ApMB . *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito* 'tatananta (so em; miss. *tatantha*) MG. The reading *tatantha* could only intend a monstrously augmented form *atatantha*, because of the preceding *abhito* (note sandhi). Roth, ZDMG 48 108, considers it obvious that *tatantha* is a corruption for 'dadanta'. In PG, however, the corruption has become infectious, because there *antān* is further changed to *tantūn* under the influence of *tatantha*. The comm on PG (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license. Cf VV I p 139f

yatrādhi sūra udīto vīdhātī (TS *uditau vyeti*) RV VS VSK. TS *yasminn adhi vitatah sūra eti* MS KS. Of course RV is original, but *vitatah* is found also in the AV version, *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahūvā*

vidad yadī (MS † *yadī*, TB ApŚ. *yālī*) *saramā rugnam* (MS † *saramā-runam*) *adreh* RV. VS MS KS TB ApŚ. The original *yadī* (*yadī*), 'when', is corrupted into a fem pple. *yālī* (TB comm

gachantī) suggested by the final *i* of *yadī*, and supported by RV 5 45 7 *yatī saramā* Saramā, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler, cf. RV 10 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note *gāt* at the end of 3 31. 6, the stanza here concerned. Caland in his Translation of ApŚ unwisely abandons *yatī* for *yadī*

yad vo devā atipādayāni (AŚ °*layāni*) TB AŚ ApŚ. *ati-pad* and *ali-pal* are synonyms, 'transgress' TB comm *akaranam anyathā-laranam cātīpatih*. There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the *pad* form (two texts confirm each other)

ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā (so divide) *adīdyutal* (VSK. *ali dyutal*) *savīmanī* AV. SY. VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚS N. The VSK reading, if authentic, is secondary. See VV I p 128

śvetāya vaidārvāya (PG °*darvāya*, ApMB HG °*darvāya*, MG *vaitā-havyāya*) . . . AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB HG MG The epithet *vaitā-havya* does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding.

§64. In the following cases the *t* variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation. Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school.

duṛaś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān* AV. Whitney translates AV. 'may he, quick, rich in fervor, send all' Since Ppp agrees with RV., it is clear that AVŚ is secondary. But *turaś* is lexically defensible.

tvañ rājāsī pradīwah (VS VSK *pratīpat*) *sutānām* RV. VS VSK. TS MS KS N. *pratīpat* is hardly intelligible; Mahīdhara takes *pratīpat* *sutānām* as a compound, ignoring the accents: 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight.'

harinasya raghuśyadah (ApŚ. °*śyatah*, two mss °*śyadah*) AV ApŚ Caland adopts the AV reading, if ApŚ really intended °*tah*, it simulates a pres pple form from a denominative **raghuśya-*.

agne (Poona ed *agre*, but comm *agne*) *vikṣu pratīdayat* (v. 1 °*yan*; not in Poona ed) TB: *agre vikṣu pratīdayat* RV. Comm on TB, groggily: *pratīdayat, pratyelam eva prāplam āsit* (as if *prah, id, ayal*!).

§65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61):

satyā tū dharmanas pati ApŚ: *satyūd ā dharmanas* (ŚS and mss of MŚ

°nā) *palī* (Vait MS *parī*, ŚŚ omits) AŚ ŚŚ Vait MS Caland in his Transl. of Vait understands *satyādā* as one word (nom. dual), which may be right. He also adopts this reading in ApŚ, which is surely wrong in principle. The secondary, ApŚ is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads.

tad vipro abravīd udah (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ Followed by *gandharrah kāmyam vacah*. ŚŚ has a lect. fac. which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitiousness (*tat*, twice).

balam icchanto vitudasya (AG *vi tu tasya*, v. 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (MahānU AG *preṣhāh*) TAA MahānU AG. The AG attempts to rationalize the obscure *vitudasya* (said by TAA. comm. to be a name of Kālāgnirudra), a *ḍā* *le* *γ* which it does not understand.

§66. The remarkable case of *tevi* for *devī* deserves special emphasis; it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf. §21.

dīśām devy (MS *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS MS. AŚ.

In the pāda *māṛk kva cana vidyate*, TA. 1. 5. 1d, the comm. (does not read *māṛk*, as Cone states, but) interprets *māṛk* by *māṛk*, which seems the only possibility.

§67. A few other special cases with problems of their own:

pitvo (VS MS *pidvo*, KSA *bidvo*) *nyañkuḥ lakkaṣas* (MS *lakuthas*, TS KSA. *kaṣas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA *'yāh*) VS TS MS KSA. None of the forms *pitvo* etc. occurs elsewhere. Some animal is meant; remotely possible is connexion with *pedu*.

mayamdā (MS MŚ *mayamānā*) *chandaḥ* VS TS. KS MS ŚB MŚ. An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter. Mahidhara, *sukham dadāt*; Keith, 'delight-giving'. This is probably right. *mayamda* for *mayoda* in deference to the prevailing type of iambic dipody compounds with prior member in *m*. See Bloomfield, JAOS 21. 50ff, Wackernagel 2. 1, pp. 204ff.

pariśīlāḥ kveṣyasi ApMB. *pariśīdāḥ kleṣyasi* HG *parimīdhah kva gamiṣyasi* PG. The true reading is that of PG., with *dh*, and neither *t* nor *d*. See Stenzler's translation ('umpisst'). Comm. on ApMB gets fairly close in general sense. *chāndasam dīrghatvam, pariśīlāḥ paribaddhah*.

[*susādām id gavām asti pra khuda* AV. *susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasī* ŚŚ. The AV mss. read exactly as ŚŚ, except that they read *gavom* and *pra śudasī*. The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation.]

§68. In a number of cases adverbs in *t* or *d* interchange. In the first two cases the *d* forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case:

ado (MŚ *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS *devī*) *prathamānā pṛthag yat* (AV. °*nā purastāt*) AV. KS ApŚ MŚ
adah su madhu madhunābhī yodhāh RV AV SV AA MŚ . *ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhī yodhī* TS.
iti cid dhī (AV **yadī cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantam* RV AV (both)
grhā nah santu sarvadā (P G *sarvatah*) ApŚ PG HG
dhātār āyantū sarvadā (TA TU *sarvatah svāhā*) TA TU Kauś *sama-vayantu sarvatah* SMB
tato na (KU *na tato*, ŚB. BṛhU *na tadā*) *vicakṣatsi* (VSK IśāU. KU *vṛjugupsate*) VS VSK ŚB BṛhU. IśāU KU See §45 *tato* is certainly older
pari kroṣatu sarvatah (HG *sarvadā*) HG ApMB

p and b

§69. Here occur only a few stray variants
phalgūr (KSA °*gur*) *lohitorī balalṣī* (VS *pal°*, KSA *balalṣī*, em by ed to °*lṣī*) *tāh śārasvatyah* VS TS KSA MS *balalṣa*, of unknown etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here The change to *pal°*, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamination with *palita*, VS comm simply says that *pal°* means *bal°*
avātīratam bṛsayaśya (TB *prathayaśya*) *seṣah* RV, TB Bṛsaya, name of a demon TB comm takes its form also as the name of a demon, it is clearly a corruption of the RV form
khaṣāpo 'jopakāśīnīh ApMB *baṣābojopakāśīnī* HG The readings are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible
pīvo (*pīvo*, *bīvo*) , see §67

There are also a number of cases in which *b* as reduplicating syllable of *bh* (in *bībharti* etc) varies with *p* as reduplicating syllable of *p* (in *pīpartī* etc), they are gathered in §112

kh and gh

§70 Here again are only a few stray variants
mā nah ḥas cū prakhān (ApŚ *praghān*) *mā prameṣmahī* KS ApŚ 'May no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured' Probably KS is original, *pra-khān* BR (Nachtrage to V), 'durch Graben zu Fall bringen' *praghān* is felt as coming from root *han*, tho problematic in form, it appears to ease the meaning Prakritic influence is likely
saghāsi jagatichandāh TS *sakhāsi* (ŚŚ adds *patvā*) *jagacchandāh* ŚŚ MŚ Cf *sakhāsi gāyatram chandāh* MŚ (Bloomfield, JAOS 16.

3ff.) It seems that *sakhā* is a sophisticated leet fac, it is clear that *sakhā* (stem *saghan*, comm 'vulture') is original; preceded in TS. ŚŚ. by *śyeno* 'si *gāyatrachandāh*, and *suparno* 'si *triṣṭupchandāh* (ŚŚ inserting *patvā* both times)

yadā rāghatī varadah (ApŚ *rākhātīyau vadatah*) Vait ApŚ. *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantah* MŚ The form *rā*° appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible. BaudhŚ 16. 23 reads *rākhandyau* (?), and one ms of ApŚ *rākhāndau*

. *th* and *dh*

§71. Aside from the interchange of the adverbs *atha* and *adha*, or similar adverbs, the material is scanty. It may be partly graphic, since *th* and *dh* are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets. There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction. Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor *dh* for *th* in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritic influence.

§72. In the one common case of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly *atha* (*athā*) and *adha* (*adhā*), we should expect on general grounds to find that the *dh* forms are generally original. This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV, with only one exception among the variants, substitutes *th* forms for RV *dh*. Yet the AV, relatively late and popular, surprisingly favors *adha* (*adhā*). The RV. in its hieratic parts favors the *dh* form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the *th* forms. The remaining texts in general favor *atha*, but now and then fall into the archaizing *adha*.

§73. We begin with cases in which RV shows *adhā*, other texts *athā* (*atha*), included is also one case of RV. *viśvadhā*, SV. *viśvathā*:
vi bhānum viśvadhātānat (SV. *viśvathā*°) RV. SV

adhā jivri (AV *atha jivir*, mss *jivir*; ApMB *athā jivri*) *vidatham ā vadasi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB

adhā (SV *athā*) *no viśvacarṣane* RV SV

adhā (SV. *athā*) *te sakhye andhaso vi vo made* RV SV.

adhā (SV *athā*) *te sumnam īmahe* RV AV. SV TS

adhā (TS MS. *athā*) *te syāma varuna priyāsah* RV TS MS KS

adhā (TS MS *athā*) *śatakratvo yūyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

rudrasya maryā adhā (SV *athā*) *svalvāh* RV. SV.

§74. Next, cases in which RV. (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular *atha* (*athā*), while other texts have the archaizing *adha* (*adhā*). The latter occurs most frequently in AV. (of course

secondary, cf the similar preference of AV for the archaic *l̥mo-* as against *karo-*, VV I p 116ff), once in SV (*ūrdhvadhā* for RV ° *thā*), once or twice in other texts

pra śmaśru (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuwad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. ° *dhā bhuwat*)
RV (10) SV

athā (AV *adhā*) *nah śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS ° *lana*) RV (10) AV
VS MS KS N · *athāsmabhyam śam* etc TS

athā (AV *adhā*) *pitr̥n suvidatrān upehi* (AV TA. *apīhi*, TS † *apīla*)
RV (10) AV. TS TA Add to VV I §370

athā (AV *adhā*) *mano †vasudeyāya l̥ṣva* (AV *l̥ṣva*) RV (1) AV
Despite the grandiloquent *adhā*, AV is secondary as shown by the meter

athā (AV *adhā*, MS KS *tato*) *no vardhayā rayam* (RV JB *gīrah*) RV.
(3) VS TS AV. MS KS JB. ŚB TB JābU.

athā (AV *adhā*, comm *adha*, but Ppp *adhah*, Barret, JAOS 40 161)
sapatnī yā mama RV (10) AV ApMB · *adhā sapatnān māmakan*
AV.

atho (AV *adhā*) *vayam bhagavantah syāma* RV. (1) AV KŚ ApŚ N

athā (AV *adhā*, comm *atha*) *vayam āditya vrate tava* RV. (1) AV. VS
TS MS KS ŚB N · *athāditya vrate vayam tava* ArS SMB

athā (KS *adhā*) *somasya prayati yuvabhyām* (KS *yuvā*°, v l *yuva*°)
RV. (1) TS KS N

athā (MS *adhā*) *devānām apy etu pāthah* RV (2) TS MS.

§75. Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV again prefers the *dh* form repeatedly, as against other texts with *th*

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gr̥heṣu*
AV. KS ApŚ *athā syāta surabhayo gr̥heṣu* MS

adhā jīvema śaradām śatām AV · *atho jīva śaradah śatam* VSK And
others, see Conc under *asau jīva*

adhā (HG *atha*) *māsi punar ā yāta no gr̥hān* AV HG.

adhā (MS MŚ *athā*) *poṣasya poṣena* VS MS KS MŚ

adhā vīṣvāhārapa edhate gr̥he VS *atha vīṣve arapā edhate gr̥hah* TS

athā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS †° *nān*, TS, twice †° *nān*, once ° *nān*)
indro me VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

athā (VS ŚB *adhā*) *sapatnān indrāgnī me* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
MŚ

athā jīvah (KS *adhā vīṣtah*) *pītum addhi pramuktah* (so divide) TS MS
KS : *athaitam pītum addhi prasūtah* VS ŚB

adhāsya madhyam edhatām KSA · *athāsya madhyam ejatu* VS LŚ
athāsya (TS. MS TB ° *syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait ° *tu*, AŚ LŚ.
ejatu, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait LŚ.

ndro marudbhūr ṛtuthā (TS ApMB °dhā) *lṛnotu* TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ ApMB

devā no yajñam ṛtuthā (TB ApŚ ṛjudhā) *nayantu* VS TB. ApŚ See §157.

§76. Somewhat like the change of *adha* to *atha* is one interchange between the roots *nādh* and *nāth*, since here *nādh* is clearly prior. But *nādh* is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of *nāth* (von Bradke, *ZDMG* 40 678ff, cf. Wackernagel I p 123):

svāyām tanū (ApMB † MG † *tanūn*) *ṛtvye* (RV † *ṛtvye*) *nādhāmānām* (ApMB *nātha*°, but many mss *nādha*°, MG *bādha*°) RV ApMB MG

§77. For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction. But it may be significant that the cases in which *th* seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which *dh* appears older:

avakro 'vithuro (ApŚ 'vidh°, Kauś adds 'ham) *bhūyāsam* AŚ ApŚ MŚ.

Kauś That *avithuro* (root *vyath*) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with *avakro*, *avidhuro* is clearly secondary.

maśām nu gād aparo artham (TB ApŚ ApMB *ardham*) *etam* RV. AV VS ŚB TB ApŚ ApMB · *mā no nu gād aparo ardhām etam* TA ApŚ 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part).' *artha* and *ardha* are here synonyms, cf. RV 1 164. 17.

ābhūr (VS TS *ābhur*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathih* (VS °dhih, NīlarU. °th) VS TS MS. KS NīlarU. Comm on VS 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda. Hindu lexicons quote *niṣaṅgathih* as meaning 'embracing' etc; the other forms are $\tilde{\alpha}\pi\lambda\epsilon\gamma$. Probably °dhī is influenced by thought of root *dhā* (popular etymology), while °ti is a mere corruption.

paridam vāso adhuthāh (HG *adhudhāh*, ApMB *adhī dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG ApMB The original (AV.) form is 2 sing aor mid. of *dhā*, the personal ending *-thāh* is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of *dhā* (*dhāh*), the first part becoming the preposition *adhī*. See VV I p 39.

ākhuh laśo mānthālas (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *māndhālas*) *te pīṛnām* VS VSK MS. *pāñktrah* (KSA *pāñktah*, but all mss of both TS and KSA *pāmtra-*) *laśo mānthūlavas* (KSA † *ma*°) *te pīṛnām* (KSA † *pīṛ*°) TS KSA We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original *th*, but the forms occur nowhere else
Said to mean 'flying fox'

indrāvathuh (VSK °*dhuh*, KS * TB ApŚ °*lam*) *kāvyair* (TB ApŚ *karma. ā*) *dansanābhuh* RV AV VS VSK. MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ The subject is the Aśvin, so that VSK is hardly interpretable See VV I p 282

apa snehitir (SV *snihitim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV SV KS · *upa stuhī tam nṛmanām* (Poona ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA See §110

§78 In the rest *dh* seems to be the original:

apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra SMB *amā ma edhī mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ † *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *anāmayaidhī mā riśāma indo Kauś* The original (AŚ ŚG) 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra' This SMB converts into the unbelievable 'be an off-warder of disease, do not die for us, Indra' At least the comm takes it thus, seeing in *mṛthā(h)* a 2d sing mid of *mṛ* (one ms. reads *mṛdhā*), *riśāma* of Kauś confirms *mṛdh* as original The variation is somehow connected with the sphere of *sa mā mṛta* (*tam mā mṛdhah*), which see in §98 On Kauś's reading see §344

madhavyau stokāv (MS °*kā*, AV *mathavyān stokān*) *apa tau* (AV *yān*) *rarādha* AV TS MS Several mss and the comm on AV read *madhavyān*, which Whitney properly recommends

adhorāma (HG *atho*°) *ulumbalah* (HG † *ulumbarah*) ApMB HG *adho*° = *adhas* is obviously correct, HG mechanically recalls the many phrases beginning *atho* (= *atha u*), q v in Conc

dīrghām anu prasūtam (KS *samṛtam*) *āyuse dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS ŚB TB. *dīrghām anu prasūtam samspr̥sthām* MS An extensive alteration, yet still showing the change of *dh* to *th* (°*ṣe dhām* °*ṣethām*)

ph and *bh*

§79. The instances are few and all concern questionable forms *phalāya*, and, *phallāya* KhG · *bhalāya svāhā*, and, *bhallāya svāhā* SMB GG The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening twilight, their meanings are unknown The form with single *l* and the variant with *ph* make it questionable whether *bhalla* is Prakritic for *bhadra* (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form *bhallākṣa* which is probably so to be explained (Weber, *Ind St* 2 88).

kanātkābhām (AŚ *pranākāphā*) *na ābhāra* TB AŚ See §151
yā sarasvatī vaiśambhalyā (ApŚ °*balyā*, v 1 °*phalyā* and °*bhalyā*)
tasyām me rāsa . TB ApŚ See §114

CHAPTER III ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

§80. The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and importance. In most of them we find only stray variants, often concerning obscure words of doubtful belongings. Sometimes both forms may be interpreted and defended, but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedic tradition. Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between *t* and *th*, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame, and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates. It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group. It will appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent, yet it will scarcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots *dā* and *dhā*, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing *t* and *th*—The variation of aspirate mutes with *h* is appended to this chapter as a special section, §§115ff

l and *kh*

§81. Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms. *gohya* *ṭupagohyo* *marūhoi* (PG *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG. SMB Cf. *grhyo* etc. Names or forms of Agni. The mss vary. The form *mayūkha*, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect. fac. The lexicons report *marūka* in various meanings. *kaṣolkāya* (MahānU *lhaḥolkāya*) *svāhā* TA TAA MahānU. The MahānU form recurs in the Purāṇas; it is interpreted as *lha-kha-ulla* ('), 'sky-meteor', i.e. the sun. The other form is *āπ λεγ*, and the comm.'s explanation is not worth quoting.

g and *kh*

§82. Two variants between the synonymous stems *sukha* and *suga*, to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form *sukha* is later both times.

sugam (VS MS ŚB *sukham*) *meṣāya meṣya* (RV *meṣye*) RV. VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB LŚ

sugam (VS MS *sukham*) *ca me śayanam ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS

g (k) and gh

§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt, cf *yena mahānaghnīyā jaghanam* AV. Kauś, where apparently all mss of both texts read so, but the emendation *mahānagnīyā* is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc. and by Whitney

yaññasya ghoṣad asi TS TB. ApŚ - *goṣad asi* MS KS. MŚ TS comm 'wealth', Keith 'substance', remarking that *ghoṣad* is probably a corruption for *goṣad*, which however is itself not clear

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG
yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrīyāya MG See §801

tāsām īśāno bhagavah (MS *maghavan*) VS TS MS KS The words are virtual synonyms

apūpakṛd aṣṭake ŚG *apūpaghṛtāhute* ApMB . Addressed to an *aṣṭakā*, same context, one must be a phonetic corruption of the other 'O cake-making A', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'

c and ch

§84. Two variants, one an onomatopoeic word

cec-cec chunaka sṛja PG *chad apehī* . . ApMB Cf the English 'skat'

karnābhyām (PG *godānāc*) *chubukād* (ApMB *cu^o*) *adhī* RV AV ApMB PG. A v 1 of AV with its comm. *cubulād*; one ms of ApMB *cibulād*, which is the form found in later Sanskrit.

j and jh

§85. A single variant

apām naptre jaṣah (KSA *jaṣah*) TS KSA. *jaṣa* is otherwise not unknown (AV), but *jaṣa* is regular in the later language The word is of non-Aryan origin

t and th

§86. These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic In every case but one they concern interchange of *ṣt* and *sth*, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets In nearly every instance the *th* form is proper, or at least more usual Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation

kuṣṭhayā (MS *kuṣṭayā*) *te kṛnāni* MS ApŚ Regular is *kuṣṭhā*, designation of a measure; *kuṣṭā* is not recorded lexically

naḍibhyah pauñjīstham (TB **tam*) VS TB Also

namah puñjīsthebhyo (TS **tebhyo*) *niṣādebhyaś ca vo namah* TS KS .

- namo niśādebhyaḥ puṣṣiṣṭhebhyaś* (MS °(ebhyaḥ) ca to nasal VS MS The word *puṣṣ* or *puṣṣ* 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with °*ṣṭha*, but there is no little fluctuation. Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies
- raṇiṣṭum* (AB TB AŚ MŚ. °*ṭhum*) *aṣṭa mā rāṇiṣṭa* MS KS AB TB. AŚ ŚŚ † 5 17 9, MŚ The regular form is *raṇiṣṭhu*, of unknown derivation Knauer (on MŚ) would emend MS to °*ṭhum*
- ahorātre ūrasṣṭre* (VS °*ṣṭhūre*) *bṛhadraṭhamtare ca me yaṣṭreṇa lalpeṭām* (VS † *kalpanām*) VS MS (Add to VV I §357) The proper form is *ūru-aṣṭhūa*, the latter part being a modulation of *aṣṭhi-want*, 'knee'.
- śatāpāṣṭhādyā* (read with Poona edd °*ṣṭhā gha*) *viṣṭa pari no rṇatā* TB TA · *śarā vāṣṭād* (p p *vā, aṣṭāt*) *dharīṣṭā rāmah* (read [*a-*] *arnah*?) MS As a missile (*hetu*) is the subject, the true reading contains *apāṣṭha*, 'barb'. The MS is entirely corrupt The Poona ed of both TB and TA. makes the pāda begin with the preceding word *ugrā*
- anupūrvam yaṭamānā yaṭi ṣṭha* (AV *ṣṭha*, TA. *yaṭiṣṭa*) RV. AV TA *yaṭiṣṭa* could only be an aorist; but as it retains a double accent (*yāti-ṣṭā*) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding *yaṭamānā*) for *yāti ṣṭhā*, 'as many as ye be'
- rdhag ayā* (TS MS KS *ayād*) *rdhag utāṣamīṣṭhāh* (MS KS °*ṣṭa*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB N · *dhruvam ayā* (AV *ayo*) *dhruvam utāṣamīṣṭhāh* (AV *utā ṣamīṣṭha*) RV. AV Here both forms are correct; there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p 211). On the corrupt reading of AV. see §234 Cf next
- āṣṭa* (MS *āṣṭhāh*, KS ms † *āṣṭāh*, em v. Schr. *āṣṭa*) *pratiṣṭhām* . . . TS. MS KS PG See VV I p 238, and cf. prec.
- vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā* (SV. *paniṣṭaye*) RV. SV. If the SV. reading is tenable at all (*paniṣṭaye*, 'for praise') it points to a stem in *tī*, whereas RV (of course original) has a superlative in *iṣṭha*.
- [*nir aṣṭaviṣam aṣṭam* GB Vait ApŚ Quoted in Conc with *aṣṭaviṣam* from GB and Vait But the Vait reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p 119; and Gaastra reads *aṣṭaviṣam* in GB. without report of variant Accordingly we may assume that *aṣṭaviṣam* never existed. The form is from *ṣṭhu* = *ṣṭhū* 'spit' (cf *ṣṭhūvā*, ApŚ)]
- §87. In the preceding *ṣṭh* is the proper or at least the usual spelling We now come to the cases where *ṣṭ* seems proper. Both are dubious,

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has *th* only in the p p of MS

śaṣṭīm (ŚŚ *śaṣṭīm*) *śaṣṭrā naṣṭīm ca kaurama* AV AŚ ŚŚ The combination *śaṣṭīm śaṣṭrā* is very common, see e.g. Conc. thereunder ŚŚ, if its reading has any real standing, has confused *śaṣṭi* with the ordinal stem *śaṣṭha*

mā no agnim (p p *agnih*) *nūrṭir mā na āṣṭān* (p p *āṣṭhām*) MS *mā no rudro nūrṭir mā no aṣṭā* TA See VV I p 93 The forms are doubtful, read *āṣṭām*?

§88. The following is the sole variant between *t* and *th* not preceded by *ś*. Nothing is known about the word *lakutha* or *kakkata* except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal

piṭvo (*piṭvo*, *biṭvo*) *kakkatas* (*lakuthas*) , see §67

t and *th*

§89. These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historic, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning. Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing. No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases. We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing *th* (indicative) and *t* (modal) are often interchanged, there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf. VV I, especially §§14ff, 116). Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, *t* or *th*, and VV I, especially §§20f, 292ff, 326ff, has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context. There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc., where this slight phonetic difference is concerned.

§90. We begin with the variations between the verbal endings *tha* and *ta*, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or preterite). They have been listed in VV I p 23f. In the majority—listed first—the *t* form appears to be older, in the last five, at least, the *th* form

āpura stā ŚŚ *āpūryā sthā* TS AŚ Add to VV I 1 c
lam sma jānīta (VSK. °*tha*) *parame vyoman* AV VS VSK TS KS ŚB
 MŚ *jānīta smainani* (TS MŚ *jānītād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV TS
 MŚ *elan jānītha* (TB *jānītāt*, KS *jānīta*) *pa° vy°* VS KS TB

SB Note especially that VSK *jānītha* is apparently a blend of *jānīta* and *jānātha*, tho *jānītha* is grammatically better than *jānātha*.

śivā no bhavata (ApŚ °*tha*) *jīvase* MS ApŚ

śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajñnyāsah* RV. TA. MG.

aśvā bhavata (AV. TS KS °*tha*) *vājīnah* AV VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB .
devā bhavata vā° RV

tena krīdantīś (ŚG. *krīl*°) *carata* (ŚG °*tha*) *priyena* (AV *vaśān anu*) AV.

TS ŚG PG VīDh. *vaśān anu* in AV is due to infection from RV.

1. 82 3, 10 142 7.

dewebhyo bhavata (TB. °*tha*) *suprāyanāh* RV AV. VS. MS. KS TB. N.

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāsma*°, AŚ *dattāyāsma*°, SMB *dattāsma*°)

dravneha bhadram AV KS AŚ. SMB . *dadhatha no dravnam*

yac ca bhadram MS

ye 'tra pitarah . . bhūyāstha AV. ŚŚ. . *ya etasmin loke . . bhūyāsta* TS

TB A primary ending on a precative form is absurd, yet all mss.

of AV. and ŚŚ. seem to agree on °*tha*; see Whitney on AV 18 4 86.

arālāg udabhartsata (AV. mss °*tha*) AV ŚŚ The AV. reading, aug-

mented but with °*tha*, is a monstrosity. Roth's violent emendation,

āsannā udabhir yathā, has no standing

aulaba (HG °*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG. °*ta*) ApMB HG. Several

mss of ApMB read °*ta*, in such trash as this it makes little differ-

ence what is read

saputrīlāyām jāgratha PG . *yajamānāya jāgrīa* ApŚ. See note in Stenz-

ler's translation of PG. 1. 16. 22

indrena yujā (TB *sayujā*) *pra mṛnīta* (TB. °*tha* [Bibl Ind *pranītha*])

śatrūn AV. TB Add to VV I §16

payasvatīh kṛnuthāpa (TS °*tāpa*) *oṣadhīh śivāh* (TS. omits *śivāh*) AV.

TS. Followed by

ūrjān ca tatra sumatm ca pīnvata (TS °*tha*) AV. TS. (Add to VV I §18.)

The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in

both; yet both are inconsistent Little weight is to be attached to

the Ppp readings, quoted by Roth as having *t* thruout the stanza,

even in pāda d (*yatrā naro marutah siñcatāh madhu*), where the

relative clause should ensure the *th* form (indicative; see VV I pp

78f.). Contrariwise, the AV. comm. reads *pīnvatha* for °*ta*, which

seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had *th*.

yad āmayat nṣ kṛtha (TS MS KS *kṛta*) RV VS TS MS KS *kṛtha*,

tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from aorists

like *kṛdhi*, is the older reading, *kṛta* lect fac

yūyam (MS *divo*) *vr̥ṣṭim varṣayathā* (MS °lā) *purīṣinah* RV TS MS
KS—MS, which borrows *divo vr̥ṣṭim* from e.g. RV 2 27 15b, is
secondary also as regards °lā.

ud īrayathā (MS MŚ °lā, AV KS °ta) *marutah samudratāh* RV AV
TS MS KS AŚ. MŚ

§91 About equally often second and third duals containing *th* and *t* interchange (listed VV I pp 24f.) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89) We begin with passages in which the *th* forms seem to be the older, in the majority there is little to choose between them

citrebhīr abhrāir upa tiṣṭhatho (MS °to) *ravam* RV † MS Followed by
dyām varṣayatho (MS °to) *asurasya māyayū* RV MS See VV I p 241
yāv (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhr̥to* (KS † °lho, AV *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣatah* (AV. KS † °thah) AV TS MS KS Followed by

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS *viśvasyādhīpā*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † °tuh), same texts See VV I p 228 The unanimity of AV. and KS, partly supported by MS, perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original, we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS 4. 7. 15 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'.

tat satyam yad vīram bibhr̥thah (MŚ † °lah), and, in same passage,
vīram'janayīṣyathah (MŚ °lah),

te mat prātah prajanayīṣyethe (MŚ °te),

te mā prajāte prajanayīṣyathah (MŚ °lah) TB ApŚ MŚ See VV I p 236

ghṛtena (Kauś *vapayā*) *dyāvāprthivī prornuvāthām* (VS TS ApŚ *prornvāthām*, MS MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Kauś ApŚ MŚ also see Conie under *svarge* (°gena, *suvarge*) *loke* (-na) *prornuvāthām* etc (only MS °lām; VS VSK. TS KSA [†*samprornuvāthām*] ŚB TB Vait. °thām)

yā rājānam (MS KS °nā) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS *juṣetām* (and, °thām) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV (both) Add to VV I §21

kāmam duhātām iha śakvaribhīh AV *rāṣtram duhātām iha revatibhīh* TB. See VV I pp 25, 224

purā gr̥hṛād araruṣah pibātah (TS °thah) RV MS TB Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the *t* forms are original
saṁ (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaṣam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV ApMB See VV I p 24.

halo (SV TB *halho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV TB *apratī*) RV SV AV TB followed by,

hato (SV *halho*) *dāsāni satpatī* RV SV., and,
hato (SV. *halho*) *visvā apa dṛṣah* RV SV. See VV I pp. 222, 232.

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °yāv) *abhūtām* (MS. °thām) MS.
 KS † TB ApŚ And, in the same stanza.

divi (KS *divo*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *ullamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS. †
 °thām), same texts *abhūtām* is certainly wrong, and all texts have
 a 3d person in the 1st-pāda of the verse. See VV I p 235

§92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other
 verbal endings containing *t* and *th*, or, in the last case, a verbal ending
 with *th* varying with a nominal ending with *t*.

abhīramyatām (MŚ. °thām!) MŚ. ŚG YDh BṛhPDh The MŚ form, if
 correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly
 anomalous, see VV I §22

yāś ca (yā) *devīr* (devyo, devīs) *antūn* (antān, lantūn) *abhito* 'dadanta
 (tatantha), etc., see §63

ubhāv indrā (ŚB *indro*) *udīthah sūryas ca* VS. ŚB. °aya(h)sthūnam
 (TS °nāv) *uditā* (TS MS KS °tau) *sūryasya* RV TS. MS. KS
 The old loc sing in °tā is shifted in VS ŚB. to a second person dual
 verb, *udīthah*

§93. In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation
 has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscuri-
 ties

asunītāya (TA °thāya) *vodhave* AV. TA The AV comm reads °thāya,
 which is clearly original; °tāya is infected by *asunīti*; cf. Whitney
 on AV. 18 2. 56

punar brahmāno (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °nītur, KS * °dhīlam, 38.

12b† °nītha, MS °dhīte) *yajñash* (AV MS KS * agne) AV VS TS.

MS KS (bis) ŚB All forms are rare and dubious KapS (v.

Schr. on KS 8 14b) has *vasudhītam* or °tum (so also v 1 of KS.).

nirṛtha (MS °to) *yāś ca nīsvanah* (AV *nīsvarah*) AV. MS TA *nirṛto* in
 MS is a secondary blend of *nirṛtha* (old) and *nirṛta* (common).

svastī nah putrakṛteṣu (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, but v. 1 as RV) *yonīṣu*
 RV AB MG Note metathesis of *t* and *th* in MG.; if the reading

is correct, it is a blunder due to *pathyāsu* in the preceding

ābhur (MS KS *ābhūr*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya nīṣaṅgathih* (VS °dhih,
 NīlarU °tih) VS TS MS KS NīlarU. The last has a corruption,
 see §77

paktā (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA Comm. on TS, *pāhaṣīlam*.

KSA corrupt, see Keith on TS 7. 5 20 1

stuto 'sī janadhāh TB ApŚ (LŚ. *pratīka*, *stutah*): *tuttho* 'sī janadhāyāh

(PB °yah) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ Is *stuto* lect fac for *tuto* of unknown meaning?

samiddho agnir vṛṣanārati (AV °nā rathī, ŚŚ °nā rayir) *dwah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ From RV. 3 3 6, 4 15 2, 8 75 1 it is probable that *rathī* is the true reading

garbhaś ca sthātām garbhaś carathām RV Conc would read *cāratām* (gen pl of *cāraṇī*), but *carāthām* (gen pl of *carātha*) may stand (Oldenberg, *Noten*)

§94. In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work.

atho (MU *ato*) *annenaiva jīvanti* TA 'TU MU

tato (AV ArS *tathā*) *viṣvañ vyakrāmat* (AV *tathā vyakrāmad viṣvañ*) RV. AV ArS VS TA

atho rājann (AV *ulā rājñām*) *ullamam mānavānām* AV TB

atho pitā (MS *utāyam pitā*) *mahatām gargarānām* AV TS MS KS

§95. As regards lexical interchange of *i* and *th*, RV 8 13 27 *harī indra pratadvasū abhi svāra* has been suspected of harboring a corruption of *prathadvasu*, 'increasing wealth' (Yāska, *prāpta-vasu*, Sāyana, *visfirna-dhana*), or *pratata-vasu*. But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as *prathad-vasu*. The word as it stands may be *pra-tad-vasū*, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', sc the two bay steeds, as subject. Cf the doubtful *hṛtād-vasū* (*hṛta-tad-vasū* with haplology?) in RV 8 31 9; see however Wackernagel, 2 1 pp 64, 319, Oldenberg *Noten* on the passages

§96. The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and partly based on different word divisions

tābhyām (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema suṛtām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathy-āśma suṛtasya lokam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Dhātup has a root *path* 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun *path*, *paniṭhan*. Possibly Kauś intends *pathyā(h) sma*. In VV I p 110 we have treated its form as a precative. It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the *th*

hitvā na ūrjam pra palāt patiṣṭhah (AV *padāt patiṣṭhah*) RV AV MG See §60

samsrāvabhāgā (VS ŚB KŚ *samsrava*°, MS °bhāgāh, KS Kauś °bhāgās) *stheṣā* (Kauś *taviṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś *taviṣā* is a sophisticated assimilation to *bṛhantah*

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB KhG

viyantu) *vayah* TS MS KS. (bis) TB MŚ GG. KhG : *vyantu*
vayo 'ktam *rīhānāh* VS. ŚB KŚ *aktam rīhānāh*, 'licking the fat',
 is certainly original, the KS. *arīham* rationalizes poorly, or rather is a
 mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS 31 11 suggests
 emending *arīham* to *aktam*. On MS see §152
atho mātātho pītā TA · *hātā mātā hatah pītā* SMB : *hato hātamātā*
krīmih AV See §386
atho ye kṣullakā iva AV *hatah krīmīnām kṣudrahah* SMB · *atho sthūrā*
atho kṣudrāh TA. See *ibid*
sarve rādhyāh stha (ŚŚ °yās tu) *putrāh* AB ŚŚ
grho hīranyayo mītah (AŚ gr° mī° hī°) AV KS AŚ Here all AV. mss.
 and comm read *mītah*, which makes no sense and is clearly a
 corruption; RWh read *mītah* with Ppp and KS AŚ
parītoṣāt tad arpitā ApŚ *pari doṣād ud arpitah* KŚ. Read in both
udarpitah, see §63
upa yajñam ashtā (AV. comm *astīla*, MŚ *astu* no) *vaiśīadevī* RVKh
 AV ApŚ MŚ.

i and *dh*

§97. Here we find chiefly forms of the roots *vr̥dh* and *vr̥t*, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous, but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt. It happens that the *vr̥t* forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true.

bhīma ā vāvr̥dhe (SV *vāvr̥te*) *śavah* RV. SV.

madanti devīr amṛtā r̥tāvrdhah (Vait °*vr̥tah*) Vait ApŚ MŚ Caland
 on Vait 13·20 assumes that °*vr̥tah* (all mss) is an error

abhi rāstrāya var̥taya (AV *vardhaya*) RV. AV. The AV is certainly
 poor, and Ppp has *var̥taya*, see Whitney on 1 29 1. Cf next two
yenendro abhivāvr̥te (AV. °*vr̥dhe*) RV AV In same verse as prec ;
 same conditions Cf also next

abhi somo avivrdhat (AV. °*vr̥dhat*) RV AV In next verse to the prec
 two, same conditions

mav̥to yo ny avivrdhah (ApMB °*vr̥tat*) HG ApMB. Oldenberg adopts
 °*vr̥tat* for HG

pumānsam vardhatām (†text is right, despite Conc) *mayi* ŚG. *pumān*
samvartatām mayi PG. *pumān garbhas tarodade* SMB 'Let them
 two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me', 'let a male be in
 me' or the like ŚG has a 3 dual active verb See §840

Note further the exchange between the old (RV) adjectives *r̥tāvrdh*

and *dhrtavata* (not concerning root *vr̥t*) in: *āvite* (*āvinne*) *dyāvāprthivī r̥tāvṛdhau* (*dhrtavrate*), and others, see §§466, 665

§98. The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt

sanvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV VS *tejasā*) AV VS TS KSA HG Synonyms

sa mā mṛta (MG *vr̥tat*) AG ApMB MG : cf *tam mā mṛdhah* ŚG 'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him', and §78, *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra*, etc. The MG has a mere corruption, see §225 *ābhur* (*ābhūr*, *śvo*) *asya nṣaṅgadhih* (**thih*, **tuh*), see §77

vi te (PG *tau te*, HG *vidhe*) *krodham nayāmasi* PG HG ApMB Kirste suggests emending HG to *vi te*, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation, *vidhe* may be somehow felt as from *vi-dhā*, but is really hopeless

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV *pradhāv adhi*) RV AV TA Comm on AV, followed by SPP in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV. See Whitney's note and Lanman, ap Whitney, p xxi

śriyati (MG *śriye*) *putrāya veltavai* (MG *veddhavai*) ApMB MG For the MG Knauer suggests *veddhavai*, Conc *veltavai*

nnanti pākam ahi (ŚŚ *ṣadhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *adhi* is very inferior in sense

d and *dh*

§99. This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption. The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text; cf e.g., Whitney on AV 11.1.23 (*ansadhri* **dri*), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples. In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots *dā* and *dhā*. These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it. They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing

Roots *dā* and *dhā*

§100. They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following. *āyurdā asi* ŚŚ. *āyurdhā asi* TS JB AŚ

āyurdā (MS KS °dhā) *agne'si* VS TS MS KS. ŚB ŚŚ. PG.

caḥṣudā (KS °dhā) *avi* VS KS ŚB

varcodā asi VS ŚB ŚŚ *varcodhū asi* AV TS MS KS JB TB
ApŚ MŚ.

varcodā (MS °dhā) *agne'si* VS TS MS ŚB ŚŚ PG —All these formulas are followed by *āyur* (*caḥṣur*, *raico*) *me* (*mayi*) *dehi* (*dhehi*), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent

§101. There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal *dā* does not govern the locative of the person, but only the dative. The root *dhā*, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative. We have noted among the variants only two cases of *dā* with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected

†*okhām dadhātu* (MS *dadātu*) *hastayoh* VS TS MS KS ŚB This is no real exception, first because a dative (*tubhyam*) in the preceding *pāda* is connected with the verb, the locative *hastayoh* being really epexegetic, but also and chiefly because the MS reading is nonsense, since the preverb *ā* is joined with *dā*, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here. Cf *mā no andhe*, §105

mayi puṣṭim †*puṣṭipatr* (AV *puṣṭam puṣṭa*°) *dadhātu* (AG †*dadātu*) AV. MS KS TAA MahānU ApŚ AG SMB. Here the isolated *dadātu* in the late AG is evidently an error

[*mayi rucam dhāh* (KS †*dhehi*) MS KS Conc *dehi* for KS]

§102. On the other hand, we find cases like *payo me dāh*, MS, recurring as *payo mayi dhehi* ApŚ, and in the same text (TS) all three possibilities in a formula like *āyur me dehi* TS 1 5 5 3, *āyur me dhehi* 1. 6 6 1, and *āyur mayi dhehi* 7 5 19 2 (but, N B, no **āyur mayi dehi*).

§103. In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading. Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another, not infrequently they may very well have originated independently

rayam me dāh (AV *dhehi*) AV. MS

ojo dehi KS *ojo dhatta* TS KŚ *ojo mayi dhehi* VS TB.. *ojo me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV VS ŚB

balam dehi KS *balam dhatta* TS MŚ *balam mayi dhehi* (AV *me dāh* *svāhā*) AV VS TB

sāho mayi dhehi (AV. *me dāh svāhā*) AV VS. TB

prānam dhehi (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ. See Conc in the vicinity of these

vācam dhehi (MS. *me dāh*) MS TA

annam me dehi (PB * *dhehi*) PB (both) LŚ Kauś, cf note on Kauś 136 4.

āyur dhehi (KS *dehi*) KS TA ApŚ. MŚ · *āyur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV VS MS. ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ · *āyur mayi dhehi* VS TS ŚB *āyur me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ. PG : *āyur me dhehi* VSK TS KS KSA MS TB. ApŚ. *āyur me dhattam* TB ApŚ

śrotam dehi (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *śrotam mayi* (KSA †*mayi*, not *me*) *dhehi* TS KSA · *śrotam me dāh* AV MŚ

caḥṣur dehi (TA *dhehi*) KS TA *caḥṣur me dhehi* (KS KSA *dehi*) VS KS KSA. ŚB *caḥṣur mayi dhehi* TS · *caḥṣur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV MS.

tejo mayi (AŚ *me*) *dhehi* (AŚ *dehi*) AV VS TS KS ŚB TB AŚ LŚ ŚG. ApMB : *tejo me dhāh* (AŚ *dāh svāhā*) TA AŚ

varco mayi dhehi VS TS PB ŚB ApŚ *varco me dāh* (TA *dhāh*) MS MŚ. TA.: *varco me dehi* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG · *varco me dhehi* VSK MS KS JB ApŚ *varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *vīram dhatta* (AŚ *vīram me datta*, MŚ °*no datta*) *pitarah* AŚ ApŚ MŚ *vīrān nah pīlaro dhatta* ViDh *vīrān me pīlaro* (*tatāmahā*, *pratātāmahā*) *datta* Kauś

ūrjam mayi dhehi VS VSK MS KS. PB ŚB LŚ. ApŚ MŚ *ūrjam me dhehi* (PB LŚ. *dehi*) VSK TS KS PB GB TB Vait LŚ KŚ *hṛdisprk kratusprg varcodāh* (MS °*dhā asī*) MS AŚ

§104. Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority

asvibhyām pradhāpaya (TA °*dāpaya*) MS TA

apām oṣadhīnām garbham dhāh (MŚ *garbham me dāh*) TS MŚ

adhī dhātre vocah VS TS ŚB · *adhī dhātre vocah* MS KS

caḥṣurdā varcodā varivodāh TS · *varcodhā varivodhāh* MS *varcodā varivodāh* (TA *varivodā dravinodāh*) VS TS KS ŚB TA

bhūs (also, *bhuvas*, and *svas*) *ivayī dadhāmi* (MG *te dadāmi*) ŚB BrhU PG HG MG. *bhūr bhuvaḥ svah sarvam ivayī dadhāmi* (MG *svas te dadāmi*) ŚB BrhU PG MG

anādhr̥ṣṭāh sīdata sahaṅgaso (TS MS KS *sīdatorjasvatīr*) *mahi l̥ṣatram* (*garcah*) *l̥ṣatriyāya dadhatih* (KS *dadatih*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

īyam vah sā satyā samdhābhūd (MS *sanvāg abhūd*) *yām indrena samadhāhvam* (MS °*dadhvam*) TS MS *eṣā vas sā satyā sanvāg abhūd*

yām indrena samadadhvam KS *yām indrena samdhām samadhathhāh* (comm and some mss *samadhathhāh*) AV. Where the noun *samdhā* occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root *dhā*, note that in MS KS it is replaced by *samvāg*; but even so, *samadadhvam* may perhaps be felt as from root *dhā* (Wackernagel I p 128).

astṛto nāmāham . . . ātmānam nī dadhe dyāvāpṛthivībhīyām gapīthāya (KS . *dyāvāpṛthivyor ātmānam parī dade . .*) AV. KS

devīr āpo apāni napād . . devebhīyo devatra dhātā (VS ŚB. *datta*, KS *dāta*) VS TS KS ŚB . . *tam devebhīyah śukrapebhīyo dāta* MS

puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe cakṣuh smane smānam . . . dehy asmai MS . *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ °*pate*) *puṣṭis . . asmai punar dhehi* (AŚ. *dhehi* or *dehi svāhā*) AŚ ApŚ For *smane smānam* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 21 324

agnir annādo 'nnapatir . mayi dadhātu (TB *yajamānāya dadātu*)

ŚB TB. KŚ Similarly nine other formulas with other gods

[*udgātār devayajanam me dehi* ŚB ApŚ (Conc *dhehi* for ApŚ)]

§105. The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence, only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority, as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original.

rayim devī dadhātu me AV. *rāyo devī dadātu nah* RV.

purumedhaś (SV °*dhāś*) *cū takave naram dāt* (SV. *dhāt*) RV SV

dakṣam dadhāsi (KS *dadāsi*, v 1 *dadhāsi*) *jīvase* RV. MS KS TB. ApŚ *asmabhyam dattām* (AV *dhattām*, but comm *dattām*) *varunaś ca manyuh*

RV AV—Ppp also *dattām*

vasudeyāya (KS °*dheyāya*) *vidhate vibhāti* RV KS In RV *vasudeya* occurs twice more, but no *vasudheya*

tato no dehi jīvase RV TB TA . *tasya no dhehi jīvase* AV SV Kauś *tsro dadhur* (KS *dadur*) *devatāh samrarānāh* VS † (so for Conc RV)

19 81b, MS KS TB The majority are probably original

somāya rājñe paridhātavā (HG °*dā°*) *u* AV HG ApMB. As Kirste remarks, HG is secondary or corrupt, the first pāda of the verse has *paridhatta* in all texts

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāt MŚ (properly emended by Knauer to *ādhat*, cf §101) *mā sv* (Poona ed *mo sv*) *asmāns tamasy antar-ādhat* TA *mo śvatvam asmāntarādhat* MS † (corrupt)

pratyādāyāpara ṛsvā AV 10 1 27, read *pratyādāyā°*, see Roth, *ZDMG* 48 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations

dhātā dadhātu (TS. ApŚ. ApMB. *dadātu*) *no rayim* AV. TS. MS.† KS. ApŚ. ApMB. Kauś. See §106 first two variants.

dhātā dadhātu (ApŚ. *dadātu*) *śamanas, amānaḥ* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

īndre a rīa indriyam dattam ojaḥ AV.: *asmin nara indriyaṁ dhattam ojaḥ* TS. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. *dhattam*.

āyur no dehi jīrasa ŚG.: *āyus te* (AV. *āyur no*) *riśato dadhat* AV. TS. TA. ApŚ. AŚ. HG. BDh. Cf. *ray nī no dehi* . . . §106.

rāyas paśarī cīṭiṣe (AV. °ṣī AŚ. *yajamāne*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

iṣarī ūrjānī yajamānāya ddehi (Vait. *dattā*, AV. *duhrām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.

lōlam asmai yajamānāya dehi (MU. *ddehi*) TS. KSA. MU.

trāṣṭā rūpārī dādātī (ŚB. KŚ. *dadātī*) *sarasaṣī* ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. *dadātī* is a secondary adaptation to *dadātu* in the next pāda.

asme dhēhi (SV. *dehi*) *jātarato rahi śrasaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *hīrī* (AV. *hīrā*) *saragām adadur* (AV. *adadhur*) *riśasate* RV. AV. N.

The AV. is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney).

derēbhyo (VS. *derānām*) *bhāgadhā* (TS. °*dhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†

pra ṇa (MS. KS. *rā*) *brūṣṭ bhāgadhān* (ApŚ. °*dhām*, MS. °*dām*, KS. *dhārindā*) *deratāsu* (KS. °*ubhyach*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

§108. In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring one reading or the other. In the following we find none, or so little as not to be worth noting:

dhātā dadātu (AV. *dadhātu*) *dāṣuṣe* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG. N. See next.

dhātā riśā rāyā dadhātī AV.: *dhātā dadātu dāṣuṣe rasūni* TS. MS. ApMB. In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of a derivative of the root *dhā* in the context may be noted. But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword. Does it indicate that the original verb was *dhā*, or rather that an original *dā* was attracted to it?

rayīm no dehi jīrasa ŚŚ.: *rayīm no dhēhi yajñīyam* MS. Cf. *āyur no dehi jīrasa*. §105.

riedhām agnir dadātu me (SMB. *dadhātu te*) SMB. ApMB.; cf. *medhām* *ta indro dadātu* HG, *medhām dhātā dadātu* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *dadhātu*) *me* RVKh. VS.

tasmat rā derāḥ paridattēha sarre AV.: *tasmai no derāḥ paridattēha* (KS. MŚ. °*dhatta* PG. °*dattēha*) *sarre* (MŚ.† *riśre*) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh. Comm. on AV. also °*dattēha*, called by Whitney a better reading: of this we are less sure.

tasya no rāsa tasya no dhēti (AŚ *dāh*) AV. AŚ.
juānu ca prati tat te dadhāmi (SMB *dadāmi*) TA SMB †. *juānu ca*
pratidatte dadāmi MŚ
udno (AV. ed. *ūdno*, but mss. *utno* etc.; Whitney transl. reads *utno*)
diriyasya no dhātah (TS. KS *dehi*) AV. TS MS KS Comm. on
 AV. *dhāta*, explaining by *dehi* (!)
mahi tarcah kṣatruyāya dadhatih (KS *dadatih*, TS *amānāh*) TS. MS
 KS.

§107. Leaving now the roots *dā* and *dhā*, we come to other *d* and *dh* variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings. But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss., certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form; in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root *dabh*. Thus (originally **dhabh*) produces both *dhīps* and *dīps*, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (*dhabh*), is the usual form. *nindād yo asmān dīpsūc* (VS ŚB. *dhīpsūc*) ca VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. TA. *dhīpsyam vā saṃcalara janebhyah* MS : *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA. Here *dhīps* varies with the negative desiderative of *dā* (cf. §§180, 45).

yam te sradhāvan sradayanti dhenavah RV.: *yam te sradātan sradanti gūrtayah* RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter; see RVRep on 8. 5. 7a and 8. 49. 5c.

sā brahmajāyā vi dunoti rāṣṭram AV.: *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmajyasya* AV. Roots *du* and *dhū*.

rajani (AV. ed. em. *rajjuni*) *granthiher dānam* (AŚ. *dhānām*) AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation *rajjuni* is very pat; the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and *dhānām*, like *rajani*, is nonsense.

adhi kṣami (SV. *asmān kṣaye*) *prataram dīdhyānah* (SV. **rām dīdyānah*) RV. AV. SV. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 1 and Geldner, *Gurupūjākaumudī* 20. SV. has an obvious lect. fac infected by ideas such as RV. 5. 64. 5, *sudītibhik . . . sre kṣaye . . . vṛdhase*, or RV. 5. 23. 4, *eṣu kṣayeṣu . . . dīdhi*. Geldner seems to have the right sense (with *dīdhyānah*).

yad banhiṣṭhaṃ nātvīdhe (TB **vide*) *sudānū* RV. MS. KS TB. AŚ. Both readings make a sort of sense; TB comm. *nātyantam labhyam*. But the compound *atī-vīd* is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons. However, one ms. of MŚ. has **vide*.

indra darta (SV *dharta*) *purām asi* RV. SV. AV The foolish antonym of SV is disproved by RV. 1 130. 10, 3 45 2, 6. 20 3

[*dhāmno-dhāmno rājan* VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ MG. So also mss. on AV 7 83 2, emended by RWh to *dāmno-dāmno* Whitney, Transl, keeps the emendation, tho even Ppp has *dh-* But Keith on TS, 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible At any rate there is no variant In the preceding verse also the AV mss have *sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu*, emended by RWh to *dāmāni*, the variant KS 3 8, AŚ. 3 6 24 has *dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu*]

§108. A little less close to each other are the roots *vid* and *vr̥dh*, which exchange several times, the 'Prakritic' exchange of *r* and *ṛ* also comes in here In the first two variants *vid* is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear

mā no vidad (KS *vr̥dhad*) *vr̥jinā* (KS TB ApŚ *vr̥janā*) *dveṣyā iṣyā* AV KS TB ApŚ Cf Conc under *mā no vidad* (*vidan*)

hotrāvidah (RV. **vida*, TB **vr̥dha*) *ślomalaṣṭāso arkaḥ* RV AV MS TB On *hotrāvid* cf RV 5 8 3; *hotrāvr̥dh* is not recorded

indrātubhīr brahmanā vāvr̥dhānah TB ApŚ · *indra ṛbhuhīr brahmanā samvidānah* ŚŚ

§109. Remoter lexical variants are the following:

śyenasyeva dhrajato (MS KS *dravato*) *añkasam parī* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. *dravatah* is a banal easing up of the poetic *dhraj-* with *śyena*; cf RV 1 165 2

avocāma kavaye medhyāya RV. VS TS MS *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB ApŚ. MŚ *medhyāya*) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ *śrutkarnāya kavaye vedyāya* AV KS ApŚ

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu*, TS ApŚ *sundhantu*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ *sūd°* is evidently secondary Note that in AV 20 136 16d the word *śuddham* of the vulgate is based on mss readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Whitney, Index).

tam tvā bhrātarah suvr̥dho (HG *suhṛdo*, AV *suvr̥dhā*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG *suvr̥dhā vardh°*, 'growing with good growth', is original In HG. there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to *bhrātarah* ('brothers, friends')

spardhante dhuyah (TS. KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA In RV., 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS KSA, into 'The people of the

sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed) ' So at least the TS comm., followed by Keith; this however implies emendation of the accent of *divah* to *divāh* (ignored by them). If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of 'conflicting prayers' (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff, or *Johns Hopkins Circulars* 25 1ff) The whole verse is obscure.

§110. The rest are obscure if not corrupt:

apa snehūtīr (KS ms *snihūtī*, em v Schroeder; SV. *snīhūtīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh* [so divide], KS † *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV AV. SV KS · *upa stuhi tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA —KapS reads *snehūtī nṛmanām athamdrī* In RV 'He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies' Cf. 1 74 2 Benfey takes *adhad* as aorist of *dhā*, and *rāh* as 'riches' The TA comm. understands *snuhi* as *bhūmau prasarāvaya* (root *snu*), and glosses *athadrām* by *adhodravanaśīlam* (v. 1 *atho*°, as if *atha* = *adhas*+*drā*!) Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV.?

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB · *anāgaso yathā sadam it sam kṣiyema* Vait Comm. on TB. *adham id, anantaram eva*; but no adverb *adham* is otherwise known It seems to be a nonce-formation = *adhā* by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as *sadā sadam* = *adhā adham*, note that the TB. comm assigns to it the meaning of *sadam*, 'always' Cf VV I p 195

upākṛtam śaśamānam yad asthāt (MŚ *sadhassthāt*, v 1. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. KS MŚ If *sadhassthāt* is more than a blunder it must depend on *upākṛtam* 'fetched from home' or the like

vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (MŚ. mss *dhṛṣadā* and *drṣadā*) *rujantah* RV. TS. JB ŚB MŚ See §60

ud vanṣam iva yemre RV SV TS KB N · *ūrdhvam kham wa menire* Mbh

adhā viṣṭah pitum addhi prasūtah KS *adomadam annam addhi pramuktah* AV And others, §870 *adomadam* is obscure, we suspect that it contains *adas* (pronoun).

[*layā madantah sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh VS. *sadhamādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB And others; §325 Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* in RVKh; but his ms °*mādyeṣu*.]

p and ph

§111. Only in the synonymous roots *guṣp* and *gulph* Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in *guṣp*, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as *guph*, *gumph* (Whitney, *Roots*), see Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV* 338, top, where *guṣṭam* ŚB 3 2 2 20 is a misprint of that text

mano yad asya guṣṭam (ApŚ *gulpham*) MS ApŚ

yad asya guṣṭam (ApŚ *gulpham*) ḥṛḍi MS. ApŚ

viṣāṇe vi śya guṣṭam (some mss and comm *gulpham*) AV

p and bh

§112. These sounds vary chiefly in rime-words of nearly synonymous meanings most commonly the roots *pr* and *bhr*, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support' In AV 3 5 4c, *taṁ pi yāsam bahu rocamānah*, we must read *bhṛyāsam* with Whitney

manas tanūṣu bibhrataḥ (TB * ApŚ * LŚ *pīprataḥ*) RV VS TB LŚ

ApŚ Kauś Both readings in TB. ApŚ.

utem (ŚŚ *uto*) *āsu mānam pīpartu* (ŚŚ *bībhartu*) AV AB GB ŚŚ One ms of ŚŚ *pīpartu*, which should perhaps be read even in that text *taṁ pīprhi daśamāśyo* 'ntar udare ŚG *taṁ mātā daśa māso bībhartu* ApMB HG

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bībhartu AV 13 1 1d, Ppp according to Roth *pīpartu* for *bī*°, which must be secondary if Ppp has *subhṛtam* as indicated by Roth's silence This is just the converse of the following, which concerns three pādas of AV 11 5 (1d, 2e, 4d).

sa ācāryam tapasā pīpartu (Ppp *bībhartu*),

sarvān sa devāns tapasā pīpartu (Ppp *bībhartu*), and

śramena lokāns tapasā pīpartu (Ppp *bībhartu*), all AV. and Ppp

§113. There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots *yup* and *lubh*, the former being original both times, see Bloomfield, *AJP* 12 414ff.

samyopayanto durtāni viśvā RV MG *samlabhayanto durtā padāni* AV *ayupitā* (ApŚ. *alubhitā*, and once *āyupitā* by misprint, see Errata to

Vol. 2) *yonuh* MS ApŚ MŚ

§114. Finally two miscellaneous cases

agner jīhvāsi suhūr (VSK TS TB *subhūr*, KS *supūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (TS TB *devānām*) VS VSK TS. KS TB ŚB ŚŚ *suhū*, 'calling enticingly,' fits *jīhvā* best

yā sarasvatī varṣambhalyā (ApŚ °*balyā*, vv 11 °*phalyā*, °*bhalyā*)

TB ApŚ The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet are unknown TB comm has a fatuous explanation

ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115. That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to *h* is indicated e g by Wackernagel 1 §218 Nearly all our cases concern *bh* and *h*; and a majority of these, again, the single root *grah* (*grabh*) Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, l. c., p 252) is cheerfully neglected The same school or the same text will use *grabh* in one place and *grah* in another, under like conditions The popular texts, AV and most of the Grhya Sūtras, seem to like *grah* a little better, but they are not consistent, they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS and KS RV and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS, MS, ŚB. and ApMB—and the RV. sūtras prefer *grabh* on the whole But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

bh and *h*

§116. We begin with *bh* and *h*, which includes *grah*: *grabh* and with it nearly all that may have historical significance First, *grah* and *grabh* *gr̥bhñāmī* (AV. HG *gr̥hñāmī*) *te saubhagatvāya* (ApMB HG *supra-jāstuvāya*) *hasām* RV. AV AG ŚG SMB PG HG ApMB MG *jagr̥hmā* (RV *jagr̥bhñā*, TB *jagr̥bhñā*) *te dal.śinam vndra hasām* RV SV MS TB Svidh In VV I p 252 we have suggested that the form *jagr̥bhñā* (comm *vayam gr̥hīlavantah*) may have been a 1st person subjunctive [In the ms of this section Bloomfield wrote. 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of *m* to *n* after the labial aspirate' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form, *jagr̥bhñā* (in which *-mā* is the 1st plural ending) of RV is stupidly altered to *-nā* with thought of the present infx in forms like *gr̥bh-nā-ti*—F E]

na hy asyā (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma gr̥bhñāmī* RV ApMB : *nahī te nāma jagrāha* AV

haranyapāvāḥ paśum āsu (SV *apsu*) *gr̥bhñate* (AV.† *gr̥h*°) RV. AV SV *savitā* (AG. ApMB HG. MG °*tā te*) *hasām agrabhūt* (AV SMB MG °*hūt*) AV. AG ŚG SMB ApMB HG. MG : *devas tē savitā hasām gr̥hñātu* AV.

idam rādhaḥ prati gr̥bhñīhy (JB. *gr̥hñīhy*) *aṅgrāḥ* AV. GB. JB ŚŚ *bhagas te hasām agrabhūt* (AV. °*hūt*) AV ŚG. ApMB

agnis te hastam agrabhūt (SMB °hūt) SMB ApMB HG
aryamā (ApMB. °mā te) *hastam agrabhūt* (SMB °hūt) ŚG SMB ApMB
oṣadhayah prati grbhñīta (TS KS *grbhñītāgnim etam*, MS MŚ *grbhñ-*
tāgnim etam) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB MŚ
nākam grbhñānāh (TS KS *grh°*) *sukṛtasya loke* VS TS MS KS ŚB
agne brahma grbhñīṣva (MS MŚ *grhñīṣva*, KS *grhīṣva*) VS MS KS
 ŚB MŚ
apo devīr (VS ŚB *devā*) *madhumatīr agrhnan* (MS KS *agrghnām*,
 VS ŚB *agrghnan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
āpo devīh pratigrbhñīta (TS KS ApŚ † °*grhñīta*) *bhasmatat* VS TS
 MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
devo vah savitā hiraṇyapānīh prati (MS MŚ °*pānir upa*) *grhnātu* (VS
 ŚB *prahgrbhñātu*, VSK °*vah savitā prahgrhnātu*.) VS VSK
 TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
aditis te (VS MS ŚB °*hṣ te*) *bilam grhnātu* (VS MS ŚB *grbh°*) .
 VS. TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ
tam vo grhnāmy (MS *tam te grbhñāmy*) *uttamam* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 TA
prati grhnāmi (MS. TB † AŚ *grbh°*) *mahate vīryāya* (MS. KS *mahata*
īndriyāya) MS KS TB AŚ—TB. Poona ed text and comm
grbh°.
yasya yonim pakireto grbhāya (HG *prati reto grhāṇa*) ŚG HG *vy asya*
yonim prati reto grhāṇa ApMB

§117. The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically synonymous roots *bhr* and *hr*, without other motive than the close similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here
parāpuro nīpuro ye bharanti (MŚ *har°*) AV VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ
 SMB

rātrīm-rātrīm (VS ŚB * *ahar-ahar*, AV TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam*
bharantah AV VS TS MS KS ŚB (both) *ahar-ahar balim it te*
harantah AV

śarma varmedam ā bhara ApMB *śarma varmatad ā hara* AV

viṣṇuh sambhriyamānah VS *viṣṇur upāvahriyamānah* TS

prānāpānābhyām balam āharanti (ApMB *ābhar°*) SMB ApMB

(Other forms, see Conc)

§118 Next come a number of shifts between the participles *-hita* (*-dhita*) and *-bhṛta* (*-hṛta*, cf preceding) Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approximate synonyms Cf also *-dhita* *-bhṛta*, §175

hiraṇye 'smin samāhṛtāh (HG *samābhṛtāh*) RVKh HG ApMB Schef-
 telowitz reads °*hṛtāh* in RVKh

devir devaih samāhṛtāh (TB °bhṛtāh) SV TB : *devair devih samāhṛtāh* RVKh But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °hṛtāh for RVKh⁴; if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone. *gandharo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat* VS : *gan° nāma nṛitam guhāsu* TA MahānU. And others; §855.

sūryaraśmim samābhṛtam TS TB . *sūryāñ* (p p °yāt) *śultram samābhṛtam* MS *sūrye santam* (KS TA *śultram*) *samāhṛtam* (KS TA °bhṛtam) VS. KS ŚB TA.

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam (AŚ *prahitam*; MŚ *nṛitam*) *padam hi te* TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ

§119. Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives of the root *bhū* vary with others from *hū* and *hu*. All are ritualistic epithets compounded with *su-* or *sva-*, and in such language these epithets are very nearly interchangeable, one does about as well as another.

agner jīhvāsi suhūr (*subhūr*, *supūr*) *devebhyah* (*devānām*), see §114 *ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB. TA AŚ.

ŚŚ According to Roth Ppp has *cā bhūte*, 'evidently intending *cā svabhūte*, which is presumably original. Vāyu is addressed *ā tvā subhava* (AB AŚ *suhava*) *sūryāya* AB KB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

samudram na suhavam (AV *subhuvas*, TB °oona ed *suhavam*) *tasthivānsam* AV. TB ApŚ : *mahīṣam nah subhvam tasthivānsam* MS — AYPpp reads as MS except *subhavas*, for which Barret, JAOS 35 46, reads *subhuvas*. The root *hu* may be concerned here, despite TB comm (*sukhenāhvātum śakyam*).

suhūtakṛtāh stha . . AŚ : *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ. : *subhūtakṛtāh subhūtam nah kṛnuta* ŚŚ

§120. In two cases—besides the *grah*· *grabh* variants—the identical word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with *bh* and *h*.

kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ *lakuham*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam rṣ°*) *rocate brhat* (VSK *brhan*) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB (*pratikas*, ApŚ MŚ) — *kakuha* occurs already in RV, which does not know *kakubha*. Cf §23

apām gambhān sīda VS ŚB KŚ *apām gambhīram gacha* KS ApŚ . *apām tvā gahman sādāyām* . . MS MŚ

§121. Miscellaneous cases

brāhmaṇebhyo hy anuyjātā (TA °bhyanu°) TA MahānU *hi* (a) *bhū asambhavyam* (JB *asamheyam*, perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*) *parābhavan* AV JB

abhi dyumnam (RV. VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS TS. MS. KS ApMB

nābhīmṛṣe (MS KS *nābhīdhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS *jarhṛṣānah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣv ā*) RV.
 SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso* †*vatā haveṣu* AV

dh and h

§122. Here we find only a few variants. They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhi hi*, participle *hita dhita*), partly on lexical changes

nṛnh (MS *nṛnṣ*) *pāhi śrnudhī* (SV *°hī*) *gīrah* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB Cf Wackernagel I p 253
uṣnena vāya (ApMB *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB GG *°nandhi*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG ApMB MG *ihī edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary
upasthe soma āhitah (ApMB *ādhitah*) RV AV ApMB MG Note archaism in ApMB

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh (TS *ānṛhuh*, MS *ānaśuh*) AV TS MS Whitney (*Roots*) rubricates *ānṛhuh* under *arh*. The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of *ānṛdhuh*, see Whitney's note on AV 2 35 1 and Keith on TS 3 2 8 3

grdhrah śitakakṣī vārdhrānasas te divyāh (KSA ms *vārhīnasas te 'dityāh*) TS KSA Von Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī°*, questionably, see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 28, and above §23
harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā (TB *°atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *harṣamānā* *hṛṣṭāso marutvan* AV Three mss of AV *dhṛṣṭāso*, Ppp ms *ṛṣamānāso ṛṣadā*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35 59f, reads *dhṛṣṭā*. The form *hṛṣṭ°* is obviously suggested by the preceding *harṣa°*
usrūv (VSK KS *usrā*) *etam dhūrṣāhau* (VSK MŚ *°vāhau*, KS *°bādhā*)
 . VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ

gh and h

§123. We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of *gh* to *h*

arghah HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG *arghyam bhoh* Kauś *arhanāyā āpah* ApG See §321, end *arh* = *argh*
aṅghārīr (ŚŚ *anhārīr*, all mss) *asī bambhārīh* VS TS MS KS PB ŚŚ LŚ The word is obscure, but ŚŚ looks like a phonetic reduction

somam te hrīnāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam tvīryāvantam abhīmāhṣāham

(KS *vīryāvantaṁ bahvarghaṁ śobhamānaṁ*) TS KS : *somavikrayin somam te hrīnāni mahāntam bahvarham bahu śobhamānaṁ* MS
am ghed agnir vṛdhāvati RV TS : *am hed agnir vṛdhāvati* MS Particles
gha and *ha*

āram hi (read *avīraghnī*?) *vīravataḥ suśevā* MG : *avīraghno* (ApMB †
 °nī) *vīravataḥ* (ŚG *vīratarah*, HG °*tamah*) *suvirān* (HG *suśevān*)
 AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

lh and h

§124. Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoeic word imitating the sound of a frog With this cf *asambhavyam* (JB *asam-heyam*) *parābhavan* AV JB, where *asamheyam* may be for *asamkhyeyam*; see §121

khanvakhā3i khaṁmakhā3i madhye taduri AṼ : *haṁmahā3 haṁmahā3*
 KŚ Cf *haṁmahā3 idam madhv*. ŚŚ LŚ. ApŚ

CHAPTER IV. INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

1. GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

§125. Interchange between gutturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely velars or labio-velars, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are peculiar. The general rule that palatals appear before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and *y*, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants. Especially VSK. affects forms like *taratā* for *taracmi*, *guraṅgi* for *guraṅmi* (§§127, 131), etc. It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK. is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical. But since VSK. also replaces *j* with *g* before *m* when *j* is an IE palatal, which should never appear as *g*, it is unlikely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form. Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity. Wackernagel I §§119f., especially 121f., deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds.

k and *c*

§126. The variants are not numerous. They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity. Thus, first, in two derivatives of the root *cit*:

acitācārā cetā abhīcārābhīkāṣṭhānam (TB. *keṭo abhīcārābhīkāṣṭhānam*) AV. TB. *ā rā cyne sucetunā* (TB. ApS. *suketunā*) RV. SV. MS. TB. AS. ŚS. ApS.

The *cetā* in *keṭo* is *ṛj* (cy), and is doubtless due to confusion between *cetā* and *keṭa*, both of which are historically regular. TB. *comrī. sukābhīkāṣṭhānam*, the meaning of the Classical *keṭa* (perhaps from *cī*, 'piles', rather than *cit*). The form *-ketu* of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than *-cetū*, patterned after the prevalent *c* forms of the root. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 146. and further Oldenberg on RV. 5. 65. 4; Neisser, *ZWsch. d. RV.*, s. v. *ketunā*. Yet the reading *suketunā* is evidently secondary.

loṭatī (TS. *loṭatī*) *prthivā udā nā divas pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. SB. *loṭatī* is *ṛj* (cy) and analogical.

kanīkhunad va sāpayan TB : *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ *c-* is again analogical; for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p. 147. *yatraitān* (VS. ApMB °*nān*) *vellha nihitān parāke* (SMB. *parācah*) VS AG Kauś SMB ApMB. HG MG. *parā(ñ)c-* and its extension *parāh-a-*

nū cit (SV. *nakih*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV. SV. *cīl'* is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem *ka-*; but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred

atho adhunkartanam (ApMB °*cartanam*) RV. AV. ApMB Here the two roots are unrelated. *kṛt* 'cut' and *cṛt* 'tie'. In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p. 145). The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off'; the secondary, 'untying'. *ima udvāsīkārina* . TB. ApŚ . *imā uddhāsīcārīna* . . . MŚ. See §59 The MŚ reading is secondary and poor; it is felt as containing root *car*, as against the original *kṛ*

§127. In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending *c* as *k* before *m* in VSK, see §125:

indrasya (MS. MŚ *indrāya*) *tvā bhāgam somena tanacm* (VSK *tanakm*, MS MŚ *somenātlanacm*) VS VSK KS ŚB . *somena tvā tanacm* *indrāya dadhi* TS. TB ApŚ

g and *c*

§128. An isolated case concerning unrelated words; the majority reading with *c* is presumably original.

na var śvelasyādhyācāre (HG °*bhyācārena*, MG. °*bhyācāre*, AG *śvelas cābhyāgāre*) AG PG. ApMB. MG

l and *ch*

§128a. An isolated lexical variant.

chavim (KSA *ḥlavīm*) *chavyā* TS KSA. The latter is doubtless original, assimilation to the next word in TS, resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem.

kh and *ch*

§129. Two variants contain forms of *khud* and *chud*, identified by Haug, ZDMG 7 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, *Etym Wbch* Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between *kh* and *ch*. See his references §131b, end, and cf Guntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 23, 32.

yatah (MS *yena*) *prajā akhadrā* (MS *achadrā*) *ajāyanta* . TS. MS KS
akhadrāh (ApŚ *aghorah*) *prajā abhivṛpāśya* KS ApŚ *achinnaputrāh*
 (MS *°trah*) *prajā aruvīkṣasva* VS. MS ŚB

g and *j*

§130. The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit *j* (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff) is such that *j* from IE palatal *g* should properly never vary with *g*, whereas *j* of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *y* Nevertheless *j* from palatal *g* produces analogically some *g* forms (Wack §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually *m* and *v*) is regularly treated as *j* (Wack §130e) The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all

§131. To begin with, VSK as we have remarked (and in one case SV) shows *g* for *j* before *m* (§§125, 127) This applies equally to both kinds of *j* (root *yuj* with velar, roots *mṛj* and *srj* with palatal)

mitrārārunayos tvā praśāstroh praśiṣā yunajmi (VSK *°gmi*) . VS

VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

agnim yunajmi (VSK *°gmi*) *śavasā ghṛtena* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

KŚ ApŚ MŚ

agnīṣomābhyaṁ juṣtam nī yunajmi (VSK *°gmi*) VS VSK ŚB

vājīnam tvā vājedhyāyāi (TS *sapatnasāham*, KS *vājīn vājayatyāyāi*)

sam mārjmi (VSK *°gmi*) VS VSK TS KS ŚB

vājīnīm tvā vājedhyāyāi (TS *sapatnasāhīm*, KS *vājīm vājayatyāyāi*)

sam mārjmi (VSK *°gmi*) VS VSK TS KS Corresponding

formulas of other schools all with *mārjmi*, see Conc under *vājī tvā*

upa tvā lāmān mahah sasṛjmahe RV AV *upa tvā lāma īmahe sasṛjmahe* SV

§132. Besides the above, derivatives of the roots *yuj* and *srj* show each a couple of variations between *g* and *j*

hinvāno mānuṣā yugā (SV. *yujā*) RV SV

daivyaṁ mānuṣā yugā RV SV. VS TS ŚB *vīprāso mānuṣā yugā* KS

daivam mānuṣā yujā MS The SV form of the first variant may

be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem *yuj* In this case both are phonetically normal, as the RV. has a neuter plural

of *yugā* (cf Wackernagel I §128a, d) In the second case also

MS may have an adverbial instrumental

diśtāya rajjūsarjam (TB *°sargam*) VS TB

prajāpate viśiṣṛj (MS *°srj*, mss mostly *srk*, one *srj*) *jīvadhanyah*

MS TB AŚ † 2 14 12c [also in Conc under *īdam no deva pratiharya*

havyam, read AŚ. 2 14. 12d] ApŚ — The ἀπ λει. *rajju*^o seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB comm *rajjunām sraṣṭāram*), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an *a*-stem. Since *a*-stems from roots in velar *j* tend to have *g* (Wackernagel §128a), the root *srj* is carried away with the rest; cf. the familiar nomen actionis *sarga*. The 'historically correct' *sarga*, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On *srj*·*srg* see Wackernagel I pp. 173f, 329. In the second variant *srj* before *j* might stand for *srt*, cf. below, §112, *brahman tvam asi viśvasrt* (^o*srtk*).

§133. Once an intensive reduplication varies between *g* and *j*; cf. the same with *k* and *c*, §126, *kanīkhunad* etc.:

m galgaliti dhārakā VS ŚB. *m jalgaliti* (KSA † mss. *jalgaliti*, ed. em. *jalgaliti*) *dhāmkā* TS KSA

§134. The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin: †*prajāyāmasy agratah* HG. *prajāyāmasy agratah* PG ApMB.: *prajāyāmy asyāgratah* MG. Verb forms of *pra-gai* and *pra-jan*, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG; see Kirste's note

sadā yācann aham girā (SV. *jyā*) RV SV N. Comm. on SV. reads *girā* with RV. Since *jyā* is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root *ji*, with loss of final *m*, for **jyām* = **jyām*. Very dubious

apa (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahī* AV. AG. ŚG. PG ApMB HG: *apah* (most mss. *apa*) *śvetapad āgahī* (so all mss.) MG. See §817.

punar brahmāno (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (^o*nītir*, ^o*dhītam*, ^o*dhīle*) *yajñairh* (AV. MS KS **agne*) AV. VS TS MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. See §93.

2 GUTTURALS AND LINGUALS

§135. A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in *k* and *d*: *tekaś ca sasaramaṭaṅkaś ca* HG: *tekaś ca sasaramalandaś ca* ApMB. See §165.

3 GUTTURALS AND DENTALS

§136. The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To some extent they concern final consonants; in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of sandhi. The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in character; often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation.

k and *t*

§137. We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *shabh*; see Bloomfield, *IF* 4. 74ff; Guntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 26ff. Among the variants, RV always has *stabh*, while AV prefers *shabh*

jagatā sindhum divy astabhāyat (AV *asla°*) RV. AV

mahān mahi astabhāyad (AV KS † *asla°*) *vi jālah* AV TS KS AB. AŚ
yam krandasī avasā tastabhāne (AV *avataś casla°*) RV AV. VS VSK
TS *ya ime dyāvāprthivī tastabhāne* MS KS AVPPP (Barret, *JAOS* 35 44f)

vy astabhñā (VS ŚB *asla°*, MS *aśla°*, KS *aśla°*, TS *aslabhñād*, TA *aślabhñād*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (°*na*, °*nur*) *ele* RV. VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB. TA

divam shabhāna KS : *dyām stabhāna* KS

§138. There are few other cases in which *k* and *t*, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion:

stuhī śūram vajrinam apratīlam (TB. *apratīlam*) MS TB The Bibl.

Ind ed of TB. has *apratīlām*, but conum and Poona ed text correctly, *apratīlam*, 'invincible' MS has a mere blunder.

avānyāns tantūn kirato dhallo anyān TB : *prānyā tantūns tirate dhallo anyā* AV See Whitney on AV 10 7. 42

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jatṛbhya*, MS. *caṭṛbhya*, p p *vaktṛbhyaḥ*)
ātṛdah (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ. ApMB See §57.

ugro (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG *agne*) *virājann* (MG °*jam*) *apa* (MG *upa*)
sedha (AV *ṣṇāḥṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB HG MG

§139. Next a group of cases in which the combination *tt* varies with *kt* (and occasionally with other consonants before *t*), cf. §416, to which all these variants also belong

vi no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svena TB . *sam te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghrīna* AV. For *vi-unattu* cf RV 1 164 47, 5 83 8, for *sam-anaktu*, RV. 10 88 4, 118 4 The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic

devair nyuptā (KS. *nuttā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV °*twam*) AV
KS ApŚ MŚ 'Cast forth (KS impelled, AV spoken) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness)' Ppp reads *mahitvā*, and also *ṣṣṣā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean

anyām icha pūrṣadam vyaktām (ApMB. *vitām*) RV ApMB *jāmin icha pūrṣadam nyaktam* (read °*lām*) AV. Here the assimilated form of ApMB (with *samprasāraṇa*) is clearly secondary

sarvān it tān anu vidur vasīṣṭhāh RV. · *sarvam ukṭam anuvīdur vasīṣṭhāh*
JB A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB.

cha prasatto (AV *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cayaḥ kṛtam nah* RV. AV.
MS. TB. *prasapto* (comm. *prakarṣena samūgataḥ san*, as if from
pra-srp with Prakritic *a* for *r*) has no standing. AV, (tho also
secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached'; RV. probably 'gracious',
in the sense of the later *prasanna*

viviktyai (TB *vivītyai*, read with Poona ed *vivītyai*) *lṣallāram* VS TB.
viviktyai, 'for discernment', is certainly original TB comm.
viśeṣa-lābhābhīmāninyai · but the form of root *vid* is isolated if *vi*
be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as
reduplication

dhātuh kakaṭaḥ (KSA *lakkaṭaḥ*) TS KS Original form unknown; VS
24 32 has *lakkaṭa*

avimuktacakra (v. 1 °rā) *āsīran* PG. · *vivṛṭtacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB.

§140. There are also several cases of variation between *lṣ* and *ts*,
reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become *ch* in the
Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below,
§§183ff These variants indeed really belong in that chapter; they
manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something
verging on *ch* In five out of six cases the writing with *lṣ* (thrice in SV.,
once in AV, once in MS.) is secondary, and in three it is more or less
foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable

vṛṣanam pṛtsu (SV. *pṛkṣu*) *sāsahim* RV. AV. SV. Here only *pṛtsu*, 'in
battles', can be meant; 'in delights' (root *pṛc*) is silly.

yat te dītsu (SV *dīkṣu*) *prarādhyam* RV. SV. The RV. has a nom sg.
neut of a desiderative adjective from *dā*, agreeing with *manas*
SV clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt')

yad dītsasi (SV *yac chikṣasi*) *stuvate māvate vasu* RV. SV. In this case
the two forms are practically synonyms; *śikhṣyam* and *dīṣyam*
together in RV. 8. 14 2; a similar passage RV. 1. 81 2.

agnim (AV *agnih*) *sruco adhvaṛṣu prayatsu* (AV. *prayakṣu*) AV. VS TS
MS KS Cf. *prayaty adhvaṛ*, familiar formula in RV. at the ends
of *pādas* (RVRep. 660) Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously
suggests that *prayatsu* may be for *prayaṭsu* = *prayakṣu* (*prā-yaṭ*),
but the form does not really construe The hymn AV 5 27, with
its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54), does not
call for any serious treatment of *prayakṣu* (the *p p* leaves it un-
divided); it is, like most of the SV readings with *lṣ* for *ts*, a phonetic
blunder for *prayatsu*

āvitsi (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīh* RV VS TS. MS KS Roots *ā-vid-*
ā-yuṣ

prāsmān ava prānāsu pra vṛkṣu (TB *yutsu*) RV TB Here, of course,
kṣ is original, *yutsu* is suggested by *prānāsu*

§141. There is also one isolated anomaly in which *kn* is substituted for *tn*, somewhat as in the preceding Here too *kn* seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations

tādītā (TB †**knā*) *śatrum* (TB **ūn*) *na kilā vvitse* (TB Conc *vivalse*,
read *vvitse* with Poona ed text and comm) RV TB *tādīknā* is
repeated in the comm (Poona ed), which glosses *tādīśān*! It
seems that it must mean simply *tādītā*

§142. Finally, a few cases of interchange between *l* and *t* final
All concern the ends of *pādas* Two concern adverbial forms in *-ā*
from *añc* stems, a third is simply a matter of external sandhi

anamutram no adharāt (KS **rāk*, VSK *me ṣadharāk*) AV VSK KS
Equivalent adverbs, one abl of *adhara*, the other acc neut of
adharāñc The same pair sonantized, below, §145, *ottarād adharād*
(**rāg*) *ā purastāt*

itad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV ŚŚ See §65

brahman (MahānU *brahman*) *tvam asī vīśvasṛt* (MahānU **sṛt*) TA
MahānU There is a v. l **sṛt* in TA, and as the next sentence
begins with *t*, the variant may be graphic Possibly, however,
sṛt may be for *sṛt* by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel *r*,
cf. Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment
of this root in general, §149a, α [Delete *brahma tvam asī* etc in
Conc]

samyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam ut*, KS * *sarit*) *śāvanā saritā na*
dhenāh RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ MŚ See §830
sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak (TB ApŚ *abhiṣṇāt*) RV AV VS MS
KS ŚB TB ApŚ Altho TB comm fatuously glosses by *bhīṣ-*
ajyatu, *abhiṣṇāt* (*abhi-+iṣṇāmi*) is doubtless an independent lexical
word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of *k t* enters as a
factor While *abhiṣṇak* is āp ley, the word, as well as the treatment
of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary

Note also *yaśo bhagaś ca mā rīṣat* MG 1 9 27c, where Knauer reports
that practically all his mss point to *rīṣak* as the true reading, of course
it must mean the same as *rīṣat* Cf Wackernagel I §260a, β, small
print, §277a

Cf also AV. 1 18 2a: *nir arānim savitā sāviṣat padoh*, so the vulgate,

but all mss. *sāviṣak*, retained by SPP. and approved by Whitney; see Whitney, *Grammar* 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm and Ppp both have *sāviṣat*. The same form occurs in the VSK. version of the following, on the subject of final *k*: see most recently Renou, *Ehrendgabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 163n; Oertel, *ibid.* 137; and our §272a, *na me tad* etc; our §145; and *abhiṣyak* for °*ṣyat*, PG. 3. 1. 3b (VV I p 242, *infra*).

tasyām no devah (MS *tasyām devah*) *śavitā dharman* (VS.† VSK † TS † ŚB † *dharma*) *sāviṣat* (VSK ° *ṣak*) VS VSK TS MS. KS. ŚB.

The next is an error of the Conc :

[*trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB ApŚ . *trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt* KS Conc , but read *rathavṛt*, text °*vṛj jīvo*—]

kh and *t*

§143. In the single variant following, PG. has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word *sakhyāni* in the following, Stenzler on PG 2 11 12 translates the AŚ reading See his note there, and his critical note

pari satyasya dharmanā (PG *sakhyasya dharmanah*) AŚ. PG.

g and *d*

§144. Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation.

ā *galdā dhamanīnām* (ApŚ. *galgā dhavanīnām*) ApŚ. MŚ N. *galgā* is undoubtedly secondary (by assimilation to the preceding *ga*-?); *galdā* is Rigvedic (8 1. 20), but nevertheless obscure Pischel, *VSt* 1 84, and *KZ* 41. 183ff, discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ MŚ. After him many others, see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8 1 20 The following word in ApŚ. is also a phonetic corruption for *dhamanīnām*, see §225 Caland leaves the pāda untranslated.

yad annam admi (PrānāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā vṛūpam* (etc., §619) AV. TA PrānāgU.

na va gāvo mañgīrasya (KŚ *mandīrasya*) KŚ Vait. MŚ. Proper names, of unknown etymology

rudras (MŚ *ugras*) *tantricaro vṛṣā* TB. ApŚ MŚ. GG KhG.

marudbhīr ugrā ahīnīyamānāh AV . *marudbhī rudrāh samajānatābhī* TS. Whitney considers *ugrā* a corruption for *rudrā*

āsmīn (KS. ā *śim*) *ugrā* (MS ā *samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS. ApŚ. In an obscure ritual verse, MS doubtless a lect fac

§145. In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings); as under *k.t* (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence; it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, *adharāt* and **rāl*, which we met in §142, first variant:

ottarād adharād (TB **rāg*) *ā purastāt* RV MS KS TB

niyudbhīr (AV. *viyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *iha tā i muñca* (ŚŚ *†muñcah*) AV. VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ [Add to VV I §§25 and 156] Also:

prayugbhya (TB *prayud**) *unmattam* VS TB. In the first of these two *viyugbhīr* is untenable, because the *niyutah* are technically the span of Vāyu (Brhaddevatā 4. 140). In the second, *prayugbhya* of VS is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahidhara, Griffith, 'for Motives'). Comm. on TB glosses *prayud** by *pralarṣeṇa yoddhṛdvebhya*, as if from *pra-yudh*. At TB 3. 7. 9. 1, ApŚ 12. 3. 2 occurs *prayutah*, which TB comm. glosses *pralarṣeṇa somam mīṣrayantaḥ* (adopted by Böhtlingk, 'durcheinander mengend'). This idea fits *unmattam* 'mad', thus favoring the TB reading. But PB 1. 2. 5 reads *maruto* for *prayuto* in the corresponding passage; Caland gives up *prayutah*.

nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug (comm., and Poona ed. text, *suśrug*) *astu* TB. *sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrut astu* MŚ. The latter is not quite certain; the mss. record forms which look towards the TB reading. But *sasrut* occurs several times in RV. TB. obviously contains root *śru* (comm. *śrotā*); so that apparently *g = k* must stand for *d = t*. It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a, β, note, 277a. See also our §283.

mayum (also *gauram*, *gawayam*, *meṣam*, *śarabham*) *te śug ṛchatu* (KS *te ḷṣud*) VS MS KS ŚB. Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS actually reads *kṣud*, before a following sonant.

triśug (AŚ **śrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me vibhātī*) KS TB TA AŚ **śrud* here is poor and doubtless corrupt.

yamasya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati MS *yamasya dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvasi* TA. The subject is *grdhrah* 'vulture'; TA is correct, and MS an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of *g(ḷ)* and *d(t)* have a share.

dadhr̥g (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhalṣyan* (AV. **ḷṣan*) *paryañḷhayāte* (TA **tai*, AV. *pariñḷhayātai*) RV. AV TA. Roots *dṛh* and *dhā*.

ñ (for k) and n (?)

§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain; it is obvious that MS. (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to *su-vāc* 'beautiful-voiced':

śutāñ nabhrād . MS MŚ *svāñ nabhrād* . . KS : *svāna bhrājāñghāre*
... VS TS ŚB : *svāna bhrāḥ* . TA.

amāsi sarvāñ (AŚ *sarvāñ*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ. Kauś. The original is *sarvāñ* (*sarvāñc* 'turned in all directions'); AŚ. secondary.

Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest. *grāme vidhuram* (HG *vikhuram*) *ichanṭi svāhā* HG ApMB. Both in wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted.

aghadvīṣṭā devajātā AV. Kauś. *atharvyuṣṭā devajātā* ApŚ. The latter is a mere corruption.

deva puraścara saghyāsam tvā TA ApŚ: *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam tvā* MS. The former is original 'may I be able to carry thee'. MS has a slipshod substitute.

yad aghrīyata (KS *°yathās tad ghṛtam* (KS adds *abhaias*) MS KS: *yad adhrīyata tad ghṛtam abhavat* TS. As Keith says, the TS etymology is not too bad for a Brāhmana; but the other is certainly original.

4 GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

§148. Wackernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants. They almost all concern *k* and *p*, and reveal no new principle. For the peculiar Taittirīya treatment (not mentioned in TPr.) of the final sound of the stems *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh* as *k(g)* in all case-forms except before vocalic endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however *k* before *p*), and before *j*, *d*, and *dh*, see Weber, *IS* 13 109, n 2, Keith, *HOS* 18. p xxxviii. This applies to TB as well as TS., but apparently not to ApŚ.:

anuṣṭup (TB *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktya* (MŚ *pañkṭaye*) TB ApŚ MŚ
anuṣṭup (TS *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyā saha* VS TS MS KSA.
triṣṭub (TS *triṣṭug*) *grāṣmī* VS TS MS KS. ŚB.

§149. The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird; AV 11. 2. 25 adds *purīkaya* (comm. *puṛī°*). It may be noted that most forms contain both *p* and *k* somewhere in the word. The original form cannot be determined:

mitrāya kulīpayān (MS *pulīkayān*) VS MS

nākro makarah kulīpayas (TS *lulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA *†hūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA

kulīkā devajāmūbhyah VS *devānām patnībhyah pulīkāh* MS

§150. Very varied also are the forms of the following words. It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of *ncumpuna* in RV decides. It may be onomatopoeic.

avabhṛtha ncumpuna (TS TB ApŚ *ncanluna*, MS KS MŚ *nicuñ-luna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ ApŚ N

nicerur asī ncumpunah (TS TB *nicanluna*, MS KS *nicuñkuṇah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ. In same passage as preceding, nom changed to voc in TS TB by form-assimilation to the adjoining formula.

§151. Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following, lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them.

lanālābhām (AŚ *pranālāphā*) *na ābhara* TB AŚ. Note the dental *n* in AŚ, despite preceding *r*. Comm on TB, desperately, *kanalavad bhāsamānām rūpavatīm lanyām*. Both forms are hopeless. *baḥabhojapakāśinī* HG *khajāpo 'jopalāśinīh* ApMB. Again both are hopeless.

kūtanānām (VS ŚB *kukūnanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvā patman ā dhūnomi* VS MS KS ŚB *kolanāsu* (so *te sukra sukram ā dhūnomi*) TS. An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoeic, epithet of waters.

śam te (AV * *śam u*, TA *śam u te*, KS MŚ *śam nah*) *santv anūpyāh* (TA *anūkyāh*) AV KS TA MŚ *anūkyāh* might be considered a purely phonetic variant, it should be remembered that Tait texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148). The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as *anūpyāh*, from *anūpa*, so comm, *anūpadese bhayā anūkyā āpah*. Formally, however, *anūkyā* is imaginable from the stem *anvañc* ('successive'? or 'going along with', approximately 'helping?'), and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA.

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB *lājān āvapantikā* ŚG. PG. MG. *agnau lājān āvapantī* SMB HG *kulpāny* may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait preference for gutturals, cf the prec and §148.

vanakraḥṣam (SV °*prakṣam*) *udaprutam* RV SV 'Sounding in (vessels

of) wood' The onomatopoeitic root *kṛakṣ* also in *kṛakṣamāna*, *arakṣaṣin* SV °*prakṣa* has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm., followed by Benfey, absurdly derives it from *pra-kṣi* 'abide'.

ansum (AV *ansūn*) *babhasī* (ApŚ. *gabh*°) *haritebhīr āsabhīh* AV. KS.

ApŚ The ApŚ stanza is otherwise corrupt, and *gabh*° is uninterpretable Caland gives up the verse

grīvāyām (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apīkalṣa āsanī* (MS. *apīpalṣa āsanī*)

RV. 1S TS MS KS ŚB N Original is *apīkalṣe*, a certain part of the body MS (p p *apī-palṣaḥ*) may have been influenced by thought of *palṣa* (cf Keith on TS 1. 7 S 3)

risatolpa *visradāvasya tvāsañ juhomi* TS GB. Vant *vislōka visradārye tvā samjuhomī srāhā* MŚ *vislōka* is perhaps a sort of lect. fac., but *vislōka* is itself not clear, cf. Keith on TS 3 3 S 2

§152 The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate, that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved

agner (ApŚ *deiā*) *akṛnvan* (RV *apunann*) *uśījo amītyaie* (RV. °*rah*,

ApŚ *amartyare*) RV. MS ApŚ

yad adya dugdham pṛthurīm asrpta (TB. ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB

TB AS ApŚ MŚ. In MŚ, as in AB AS, the parallel following pāda contains *asrpad*, in TB. ApŚ, *asarad*

īha prasatō (AV. *prasakto*, TB *prasapto*) *vī cayat lṛtam nah* RV AV MS TB See §139

krānā (SV *prānā*) *śīsur mahīnām* RV. SV. And:

kīānā (SV *prānā*, AV *prānāh*) *sindhūnām kalāsān acikradat* (RV. *avīvaśat*) RV SV AV The SV. is really inexplicable, AV attempts to rationalize it Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 279 On the much discussed *krānā* see last RVRep 136

devair nyuplā (KS *nultā*, AV *uktā*) *vyasarpō mahitvā* (AV. °*tiām*) AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS °*artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (*viyantu*) *vayah* TS MS KS ° TB MŚ GG KhG. And others, see §96 The stem *aptu* (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small' It is hard to apply this meaning here, perhaps adverbially, 'daintily' *asmīn goṣṭhe kariṣinīh* (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣinīh*) AV MS Kauś The riming synonyms *kariṣa* and *purīṣa*, cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 16 409ff Different context, hence different gender, in Kauś

kṛiyanta (TB *prīyā ta* [so divide]) *ā bahīh* (TB Conc °*his*, Poona ed °*hīh*) *sīda* RV AV KS TB Preceded by *mā brahma brahma-*

vāhak (TB † °ha) 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB, are pleasing to thee), sit upon the barhis' [*pra so agne tavotibhik*] *suwirābhik* †*tirate* (SV TS *tarati*) *vājabhar-mabhih* (SV TS °*karmabhih*) RV SV TS KS
sugandhum (AV *subandhum*) *pativedanam* AV VS ŠB ApŠ *sugandhum puṣṭwardhanam* (KS *rayiṣṭanam*) RV VS TS MS KS ŠB TAA Vait, LŚ N The AV changes *sugandhum* by adaptation to the meaning of *pati-vedanam* (*pati* suggests *bandhu*)

§153. To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots *pr* and *gr* (*gr*), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root *yaj* are closely associated. These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants. The roots *yaj* and *gr* go naturally together (sacrifice and praise), and *abhi-gr* (as in the third variant) likewise goes with *yaj* because sacrifice gratifies the gods (*gūrta* = Lat *grātus*), see e.g. RV 1 15 3, 3 6 10, 10 15 6. On the other hand *yaj* and *pr* 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (*iṣṭā-pūrta*), see Windisch, *Festgruss Böhrling* 115ff, Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 408ff. In the third variant *abhi-pūrtam* and *pūrtam* are clearly secondary, suggested by *iṣṭam* which recalls *iṣṭā-pūrta*. In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that *gr* is secondary. In the second, KS seems to give the best sense, but may be a *lectio facilior*. The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritually so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another. Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance.

indro yajvane prnate (AV *gr°*) *ca śikṣati* (AV °*te*) RV AV TB
sviṣṭam agne abhi tat prnāhi (PG *prnāhi*, KS *tad grnāhi*) KS TB ApŠ PG HG

iṣṭam vītam (AV *pūrtam*) *abhigūrtam* (AV °*pūrtam*) *vaṣaṭkṛtam* RV AV VS TS MS KSA [Delete in Conc. reference to AV under *iṣṭam vītam*]

§153a. The following variants, tho concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of *kṣ* and *ps* (cf. §§182-6)

somasya drapsam (AV *bhakṣam*) *avṛṇita pūṣā* (AV *śakrah*) AV TS MS KS. Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit, it is hard to see any reason for preference.

hṛtsu kratum varuno (MS °*nam*) *vikṣu* (RV *apṣu*, MS *dikṣu*) *agnim* RV, VS †TS †MS KS ŠB †

5 PALATALS AND DENTALS

§154. These variants are mostly lexical in character except before *y*, the combinations *dy* and *gy* exchange on a purely phonetic basis. A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of *l* before *i* or *y* seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156

c and *l*

§155. Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots *car* and *tar*

yajñasyāyur anu sam caranti (AŚ *taranti*) TS AŚ Cf *yajñayur anusamcarān* TB ApŚ

na tad (AV *namam*) *raḥsānsi na piśācāś caranti* (VS °*cās taranti*, AV °*cāh sahante*) RVKh AV VS But Scheftelowitz reads RVKh as VS

achinnam tantum anu sam tarema (TA *carema*) AV TA Comm on AV *car*

śamyāh prataratām (Vait °*tā*) *iva* (MŚ *pracaratām iha*) Vait KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

§156. The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt; the first two have interesting phonetic aspects.

sā śamīlātī (SV. °*tā*; TB ApŚ °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV. SV. TB.

ApŚ The TB ApŚ reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in *-ācī*, fem to *-āñc* (like *prācī*), so, perhaps, the comm understood it (*anīṣṭaśamanaprāpikā satī*) But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following *i*-vowel Cf next

arciśātrino nudatam pratīcah AV *arciśā śatrūn dahatam pratītya* AG

Here in the secondary AG we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding

satyaujasā . TS MS. KS *sacetasāu* ... AV. See §305 Here we suspect that AV is secondary, with palatalization of *ty* to *c*

agre (TB *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya celatah* (RV. *śocatah*) RV. KS TB.

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ

jagdhā vitṛṣṭir (HG *viçaṣṭir*) ... HG ApMB And others, see §634

Oldenberg on HG. assumes *vitṛṣṭi*, 'thirst'

divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo viçaṣṭe MŚ : *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ † *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasṭhe* VSK TB. KŚ ApŚ

yat kṣurena marcayātā (MG *varlayātā*) *sulejaśā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supeśasā*) AV AG PG. HG ApMB MG —AVPpp reads *varcayātā* (*varcas*)

vācam (RV AV *vālam*) *viṣnum sarasvatīm* RV AV VS TS MS ŚB *viṣnum vācam sarasvatīm* KS *vācam* is secondarily suggested by *sarasvatīm*, note that KS places it next to that word AV comm also has *vācam*

śraddhe kam indra carato vīrtaturam (TB *vīcar*^o) RV TB The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding *car-ato* Comm regards it as an intensive formation from root *tvar*¹ (*viśeṣena tvarā yathā bhavati tathā*)

yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya PB *yunaṣmī tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ *virṭah sūryah save, or savah*) TS ApŚ MŚ Here *j* as well as *c* is involved, cf next See §57

j and *t*

§157. Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants, the phonetic aspects are faint

śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam (ApŚ *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB ApŚ *vrajam* hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary *tato yajñas tāyate viśvādānām* KS MŚ *tato yajño jāyate viśvādānām* TB ApŚ *yajñas tāyate* is standard, cf e.g. RV 7 10 2, 9 102 7, 10 90 15 It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss but one of MŚ as reading *tyāyate*, a middle stage leading to the lect *fac jāyate*

devā no yajñam rtuthā (TB ApŚ *ṛjudhā*) *ṇayantu* VS TB ApŚ *yajñam rtuthā* is supported by RV 1 170 5, 8 44 8, but in RV 2 3 7 the two points of view blend in *ṛju yakṣatah yajantiāv rtuthā*. They are in fact nearly synonymous

saṁ bāhubhyām dhamatī (etc., §853) *saṁ patatrak* (KS *yajatrak*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU

c and *d*

§158. Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary *c* for *d*, in the first *ucyate* is due to assimilation of sense to the preceding *vacas*

somāya vaca udyatam (SV *ucyate*) RV SV

gīrā-gīrā ca dakṣase (KS *calṣase*) RV SV VS MS KS PB ApŚ *sadā* (MS *śacyā*) *paśyantī sūryah* RV SV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

NṛpU and other Ūp One ms of KS has *sadyā*¹
ajāṣmādyaśanāma ca (AV **śanāmādya*) RV AV *ca* and *adya*

j and d

§159. Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of *dy* and *gy* in the roots *dyut*, *gyut* (Wackernagel, I §140a). It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which *gyām* and *gman* are displaced by *dyām*, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence.

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS TB *dīpyalām*, MS *°rīyo gyotatām*) *aprayuchan*
VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

ava gyām va dhanvanah SV Vait Kauś ApMB : *ava dyām va dhanvinah*
HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29

upa gmann upa velase VS TS MS KS. ŚB : *upa dyām upa velasam* AV.
Vait Kauś The absurd AV reading involves, like the preceding, a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, see Whitney's note.

pavamānah so adya nah RV VS *°pav° svarjanah (savar°)* MS KS TB
ApŚ HG BDh In a secondary lect fac, *dy* becomes *j*

imam (MS *imam ca*, VS TS ŚŚ *ya imam*) *yajñam svadhayā* (KS
AŚ *°yā ca*, MS *sudhayā*) *dadante* (AŚ *yajante*, ŚŚ *bhajante*) VS.
TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ.

d-uyāya dhartre joṣṭre (MS *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Note
the palatal diphthong after *d*, which is however doubtless secondary
°ccaurvāṇi pṛtanāṣāṭ (HG *°sāham*, ApMB *°vādi pṛtanāṇi*) RVKh HG
ApMB If ApMB is correct (v l *°vāṇi* is recorded) it is a hyper-
Sanskritic absurdity, no form of root *vad* can be concerned here
prati śma (AV *sma*) *raḥṣaso dāha* (AV *jahī*) RV AV

ichanto 'paridākṛtān ApMB *ipsantah pariṇākṛtān* HG See critical
notes on HG 2 3 7. Both forms seem uninterpretable Olden-
berg on HG, 'visiting those who wake (?)', apparently under-
standing *°jāgrtān*

erum tundānā (TS *perum tuñjānā*) *patyeva jāyā* AV TS Roots *tuj*
and *tud* are practically synonyms See Whitney on AV 6 22 3,
Keith on TS 3 1 11 8, and cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 1 45 4
The AV comm reads *tuñjānā*

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonariḥ MS : *mā nah param adharam*
(MŚ *†adhanam*) *mā rajo 'nariḥ* (MŚ *nariḥ*) TA MŚ. See §836

j and dh

§160. Only lexical variants

mālā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā (MS *jajanaj janīṣṭham*) RV. VS
MS KS TB Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS to
suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-

lative *janīṣṭha* is not otherwise recorded 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son' Cf the following similar variant
oṣadhībhyah paśubhyo me dhanāyo (TS *paśave no janāya*) TS KS
 ApŚ † MŚ .

athāsya madhyam ejatu VS LŚ *athāsya* (TS MS TB °*syā*) *madhyam*
edhatām (Vait °*tu*, AŚ LŚ *ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB
 AŚ ŚŚ Vait *adhāsya madhyam edhatām* KSA

y and d

§161. This seems a natural place to append two variants between *y* and *d*, in the first of which *y* seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (*yaśo* seems to make better sense) The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between *j* and *d* on the one hand, and between *j* and *y* (below, §§192f) on the other
sūyavasīnī manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA °*syē*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
dīśo (TB *yaśo*) *yaṇṇasya dakṣināḥ* (TB °*nām*) TB AŚ Note that *d* is followed by *i*

6. PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162. Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies We do not include here cases like *lakup* (TS *lakuc*) *chandah*, where the TS reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178.

tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyās caramena paśunā krīnāmi TS
paramena paśunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB Corruption in TS, see Keith Yet *carama* is not far from *parama* in meaning

vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā (SV *panīṣṭaye*) RV. SV See §86
vāyosāvitra (MS *vāyusavitrībhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*)
 TS MS KSA

7. LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163 In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring *r*, *r* (*l*, *l*) or *ṣ*, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145-7) There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid §148a, cf especially §133, note), and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid §156a). In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence Namely dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the

influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, *Gram d. Pkt Sprachen* §§218–25), some dialects show the reverse tendency Especially *n* becomes *ṇ* in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224). The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies We include also the nasals *n* and *ṇ*, except when *n* is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of *n* (on which see §§945–54)

§164. We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit Here first we have three cases of *avaṭa* = *avata*, the latter each time in RV We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb *avar* (Bartholomae, *IF* 3 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves *avata* unexplained and seems to us unlikely.

avatasya (SV. *avaṭasya*) *visarjane* RV. SV.

ṛkṛtāhavam avatam RV *ṛkṛtāhavam avaṭam* TS ApŚ

gāva upāvatāvatam (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV SV. VS.

§165. Next, some demonic names in the Gṛhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable, it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously: *ṭekaś ca sasaramaṭaṇḥaś ca* HG *tekaś ca sasaramaṭandaś ca* ApMB

manthākako (HG *mandākako*) *ha vah piṭā* HG ApMB

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS KapS may be due to the preceding *r*.

aiḍamṛdā yavyudhah KS. *aiḍabṛdā* (MS *°mṛdā*, KapS *ilamṛdā*) *āyur-yudhah* (TS. *yavyudhah*; MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS. See §241.

Cf also *ahar* (MS. *vahad*, v l *vahad*, p p *vahaṭ*) *dwābhur* (MS *divyābhur*) *ūtibhuh* VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ LŚ See §§272, 272a

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots *pan*, *pan*, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf. Pischel, *Ved St* 1 199ff For attempts to explain *pan* as going back to an IE root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d, note

sā me satyāśir devān gamyāj juṣṭāj juṣṭatarā panyāt panyatarā (KS. *panyāt panyatarā*) MS KS ApŚ Cf Durga on N 6 8 (Roth's Erläuterungen 76 foot).

§166. These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization.

The curious form *padbhis* which varies twice with *padbhīs* has been explained in this way, this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr plural. Some obscure lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing. Cf Bloomfield, *AJP* 11 350ff, *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff, Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63 300ff, Pischel, *Ved St* 1 228ff

uro vā padbhīr (Kauś *padbhīr*) *āhate* (Kauś SMB °ta, but Jorgensen °te) TS ŚŚ KS MŚ Kauś SMB

padbhīs (ApŚ *padbhīs*) *caturbhīr akramīt* AV ApŚ One ms at AV 3 7 3 also *padbhīs*, but Ppp *pad*°

§167. In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root *lah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual, see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS has *dhīya-vāḥ* and *turya-vāḥ* in the same passage where *paṣṭha-vāt* occurs. This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *t*·

paṣṭhavād (TS °vād) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

paṣṭhauāt (TS °vāc) *ca me paṣṭhauhī ca me* (MS omits *me*, twice) VS TS MS KS

§168. Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ṣ*, in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*

grhā mā bibhūta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG *vepidhvam* is an *iṣ*-aorist, *vepadhvam* present

purovāta (KS °to) *jinva rāvaḥ* (KS *rāvat*) *svāhā* MS KS *purovāto tarṣaṇ jinvat āvrt svāhā* TS ApŚ. And similarly other formulas, beginning *tapati* etc; all in TS 2 4 7 2, MS 2 4 7, KS 11 9, all containing the sacrificial exclamations *rāvaḥ* etc in the same forms. A natural assumption would be that the lingual *t* in MS is due to an originally preceding vocalic *r*, as in TS (which divides badly, *jinvat-āvrt* for *jinva-rāvrt*), the dental *t* of KS might be due to dissimilation to the initial *r*. But cf §632. The words are mere interjections and any form would pass.

ukīrida (VS °dra, KS °da) *vilohita* VS TS KS *vyakṛda vilohita* MS. Obscure epithets of Rudra, cf TB *atī-kṛṣa*. The original presence of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS and MS. The dental of TS may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation.

§169. Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere

corruptions First, the ritualistic root *id* and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms. Twice the SV substitutes the more banal *indh*, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for *id* 'revere':

agnim idita (SV *indhita*) *martyah* RV. SV

yam sim (SV *sam*) *id anya idate* (SV. *indhate*) RV. SV.

The same *id* figures along with the similar *iḍ* (and adjective *iḍu*) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies:

tigmam anīkam viditam sahasvat AV *tigmam āyudham viditam* (KS *°dham iditam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS In AV. *viditam* 'found', is evidently a poor reading for *viditam*, certainly KS *iditam* is equally secondary.

dhṛṣṇe vīdū (VS VSK *vīdī*, KS *vīte*, MS MŚ *idite*) *satī* (MS KS MŚ omit) *vīdayethām* (MS. MŚ *idethām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ *vīdū* or *vīdī* 'firm'; *vīte* 'pleasant', *idite* 'revered'. KS is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness. KapS has *idite idauṇthām*

§170. The rest are sporadic

pari no heṭi rudrasya vṛjyāh (VSK *°yāt*) RV VSK *pari no heda tarunasya vṛjyāh* RV *heṭi* and *heda* are quasi-synonyms. See the list of very similar formulas, RVRep 573

dvo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicaṣṭe MŚ. *deiānām iṣṭhām* (ApŚ *†niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vītasṭe* VSK TB KŚ ApŚ See §156

yaṣṭām (KS *yaṣṭīyā*) *yaṣṭām prati deṭayadbhyah* (KS *† ŚŚ.† °yadbhyah*) VSK TS KS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ The stem *deva-yaṣ* (in sandhi *°yaḍ*) varies with the denominative participle *deṭayat*, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary

sarasvatyā (AV *°yām*) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v. 1 *manā*, AV. *manāv*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuḥ* (KS SMB Jørgensen, *acarkṛṣuḥ*, SMB Conc *carkṛdhi*, KS v. 1 *acark*°) AV. KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc of *manu*, 'on behalf of Manu'); but the AV (loc of *man*) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone')

aṣādhāya sahamānāya vedhase (TB *mīdhuse*) RV. TB. N.

ghṛīam duhānā vīsvataḥ prapītāh (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPpp *pravīnāh*) RV AV VS. TB ApMB. See §198

pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā TA : *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838 *nāvaś caranti svasica iṇānāh* VS TS ŚB *nāvo viyanti susico na vāṇih* MS KS

mā no agnim (p.p *agnih*) *nīrṭir mā na āṣṭān* (p.p. *āṣṭhām*) MS : *mā no rudro nīrṭir mā no astā* TA. See §87

In ŚŚ 17 12 1 *sarvā vinudya samīṛḍyaḥ* (cf critical note, top of p. 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals

8 DENTALS AND LABIALS

§171. Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic. It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates. Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between *dh* and *bh*, we may recall that both exchange with *h* (§§115ff, 122)

dh and *bh*

§172. We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions *abhi* and *adhi*. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too

bhadrād abhi (AV Kauś *adhi*) *śreyah prehi* AV TS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś.

svapnah svapnādhikarane RVKh. *svapna svapnābhikaranena* AV *brahmādhigupṭah* (PG *brahmābhi*?) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣṭah syām*) *svāhā* AG PG *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣānah* MG. See Stenzler's Translation of AG 2 4 14 (p 73, n 2), and the critical note on MG 2 8 6

layor devā adhīsamvasantah ApŚ *tasyām dvā adhi samvasantah* TS TB *yasyām* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhi samvśantah* MŚ

viśvāvasur abhi tan no grṇātu RV. TA *vīrebhur adhi tan no grṇāno* etc MS

samānamūrdhnīr abhi (PG *adhi*) *lokam ekam* TS MS KS PG *tā ekamūrdhnīr abhi lokam ekam* AV

trīṇye ṛdhāmāny abhy (VS *dhāmān adhy*) *arayanta* VS TA Mahān U *dam* (PG *imam*) *tam adhīṣṭhāmī* (PG MG. *abhi*?) ŚŚ AG MG PG *ṛtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV *abhi*) *sam punāmi* (AV *punāti*) RV AV *na vaḥ śvetasyādhīyācāre* (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG.

mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vṛdhānah (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ

adhi skanda vīrayasva AV. *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG

ṛṣinām putro adhīrāja eṣah (AŚ *avīrāja eṣah*, AV *abhiśastipā u*, VS

ŚB *abhiśastipārā*, TB *abhiśastipā ayam*) AV. VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TB AŚ SMB N
yamo rājābhitiṣṭhati (KS MŚ *rājādhi*°) KS. TA ApŚ MŚ.

§173. As the roots *ślabh* and *stabh* were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots *śudh* and *śubh*, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV. seems to prefer *śubh* (five times); Whitney's *Index Verborum* confirms this tendency:

tena mā saha śundhata (AV *śumbhantu*) RV. AV. See VV I p. 239.
tāni brahmā tu (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*; ApMB *śansati*) RV AV. ApMB

śumbhantām lokāḥ pītṛśadanāḥ AV. *śundhantām* etc. VS. MS KS
 ŚB. MŚ. *śundhatām lokāḥ pītṛśadanāḥ* TS. ApŚ.

śumbhañ mukham mā na āyuh pra moṣih AV.: *śunddhī* (*śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣih* AG PG ApMB. MG.

āpah śundhantu (AV. *viśve śumbhantu*) *mainasah* AV. VS KS ŚB TB
antaḥ śubhrāvata (SV. *śundhyāvata*) *pathā* RV. SV.

§174. An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where *sūd*, instead of *śudh*, varies with *śubh*; this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of *śubh* and *śudh*, the latter being replaced by *sūd*:

asūśubhanta (TS. TB *asūśudanta*) *yajñīyā ṛtena* TS MS. KS TB.

§175. In the remaining variants between *dh* and *bh* lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely. Thus in two cases of the participles *dhṛta* and *bhṛta*, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of *hṛta* and *bhṛta*, §118:

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bībhartu (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhṛtām dadhātu* TB

garbha iva (SV. KU, Poley's ed., *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhinībhiḥ* (RV. *sudhito garbhinīṣu*) RV. SV KU.

§176. Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants:

dhartāras (ApMB *bhar*°) *te* (MG. *te subhage*) *mekhale mā riṣāma* SMB
 ApMB MG

bhākṣimahi (TS. MS. KS Vait. *d'ukṣimahi*) *prajāṃ iṣam* RV. SV. TS
 MS KS. PB Vait.

anādhrṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ VS MS KS ŚB.: *anībhrṣṭā apasyuro vasānāḥ* TS. Both mean 'undefeated'.

saṃ bāhubyām dhamaṭi (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. °*bhyām adhamat*) *saṃ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS
 TS. MS KS TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

nikīrya (MŚ KŚ *niḡīrya*) *tubhyam madhye* (MŚ *madhvah*, Vait. *tubhyam abhya āsam*, KŚ *sarvā ādhāh*) KŚ. Vait ApŚ MŚ See §47
avīṣobhāya (KS °*ḷṣodhāya*) *paridhīn dadhāmī* KS. TB ApŚ. 'For non-disturbance' 'for non-hunger'. KS makes inferior sense
andha sthāndho vo bhalṣīya VS ŚB KŚ. *ambhah* (TS ŚŚ *ambha*) *sthāmbho vo bha°* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ. MŚ MG *andhah* '(soma-) juice' *ambhah* 'waters'
bhansaso (ApMB *dhvansaso*) *vi vṛhāmī te* RV AV ApMB Here ApMB is meaningless

Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177. There are a few sporadic cases of *bh* and *d*, *t*, and *dh* and *p*
vi senābhīr dayamāno (SV *bha°*) *vi rādhasā* RV SV *bhayamāno* is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean
bhūrnīm (MŚ. v 1 *tūrnīm*) *devāsa iha suśrīyam dadhuh* RV. KS ApŚ MŚ

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu RVKh *bhūmīdṛnham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmīdṛnho* 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣnuh' AV Quasi-synonyms 'establishing', 'saving'

§178. Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of *lakup* (representing stem *lakubh*) and *lakuc*, *kakut*, *kakud*, *lakun*, all by regular sandhi for *lakud* Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS and TB use *lakubh* only before vocalic endings (cf Weber, *IndSt* 13 109, Keith, *HOS* 18 p xxxviii)

kakup (and, *trikakup*) *chāndah* VS MS KS ŚB *lakuc* (and, *trikakuc*) *chāndah* TS

kakup (TB *kakuc*) *chanda iḥendriyam* VS MS KS TB

apām napād āśuheman ya ūrmih lakudmān (MS *ūrmih pratūrīh kakubhvān*, KS *ūrmih pratūrīh kakudmān*) TS MS KS. *devīr āpo yo va ūrmih pratūrīh kakunmān*. VS VSK ŚB *bṛhaty usṣīhā kakup* (TS *kakut*) VS TS MS KSA

d and *b*

§179. A single variant between *dulā* and *bulā*, both obscure; applied to fire-bricks

ambā ca bulā ca MS. MŚ. *ambā dulā* TS, cf *ambāyā svāhā dulāyā svāhā* TB 3.1 4 1

Another lexical variant:

abaddham mano . TS KŚ BDh . *adabddham mana* (MŚ. *caḥṣur*) . .
MŚ ŚG.

t and *p*

§180. These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies

tiro raḡānsi asṛtāh (SV *asṛtāh*) RV SV Both mean 'unconquerable'

The RV version occurs also with accusative *asṛtām*, 8 82 9b
ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpah (AV °*sātāh*) RV AV Cf RV 1 179 2a, *ye cid
dhi pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan*, which confirms the RV reading, if con-
firmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of
AV ('won by *ṛta*', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the
ṛta')

matsarāśah prasupah (SV °*tah*) *sākam īrate* RV SV Epithets of Soma

The SV rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand
(comm *prakarṣena sūtāh* [!], *abhīṣūtāh*) Benfey, 'zeugend' =
pra-su(t), but the comm is right to the extent of connecting SV's
word with *su* 'press' The RV reading is obscure, cf Oldenberg,
Noten on 9 69 6 (suggesting a derivative of *sup* = *svap*)

vahnih samtarano (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA Practically syno-
nyms, both 'rescuing'

devair nyupitā (KS *nūtā*, AV *uklā*) *vyasarpo mahivā* (AV °*ivam*)

AV KS ApŚ MŚ See §139

yat kṣurena marcayātā (MG *vartayātā*) *supeśasā* (AV MG *sutejasā*)

AV AG PG ApMB HG MG Nearly synonyms See §156

upa (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °*nā ihāgatam*) MS TB
TA

mitro (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh* RV VS TS MS TA

sacetasāv (VSK °*sā*, delete 'MS.' in Cone) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB .

sacelasau sarelasau TB *samokasau sacetasā arepasau* MS . *samo-
kasāv* (KS °*sā*) *arepasau* TS KS Kauś The TB. has a lect fac.
to match *samokasau* which immediately precedes *sacelasau* (comm.
ekakarmapravartakau bhūtā)

yo gopā apī (TB ApŚ *gopāyatī*) *tam huve* RV AV TB ApŚ The
denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula
'understood'

suśevam somapītsaru (TS *sumatītsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh

suśīmam somasatītsaru AV—Ppp (Roth) *suśevam* (intending
suśevam) *somapītsalam* For *suśīmam*, Whitney 'well-lying', but

it is a mere corruption Whitney and Keith regard the TS reading as the correct one; in that case the reading °*pītsaru* would contain dissimilation But it is improbable that the isolated TS. has the original reading With Mahidhara, *somapi* may be taken as 'soma-drinker', and *somasa* as 'soma-winner' (cf *paśu-śā*, *prīya-śā*, both RV.); both would refer to the *yajamāna*, and the cpd would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the *yajamāna*' (or perhaps AV. 'having a soma-winning handle').

dhīpsyam vā samcalara janebhyaḥ MS *adītsan vā samjagara janebhyaḥ* TA 'Intending to deceive'. 'not intending to give' Others, §45 *āsannīṣūn hrīśvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS KSA MS N: *āsann eṣām apsu vāho mayobhūn* SV The latter is wholly secondary, see §820

rnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nen na ṛnān rṇava it samānah* TA *nem na ṛnān ṛṇavān īpsamānah* MS In AV desid. of *ā* + *rdh*; but comm *ecchamānah*, which suggests that TA intends *eccha*° (phonetic confusion of *ts* and *ch*) MS has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of *ps* and *ch*

tato na (na tato, na tadā) vicikītsati (vijugupsate) VS VSK ŚB. BrhU KU IśāU See §45. Here the variation between *ts* and *ps* is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic *ch*; see §182

n and *m*

§181. There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings *mi* and *ni*; these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124; to §119 should be added the following, omitted there:

pratīlāmīti (AŚ °*nūti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmīti*) *te pītā* VS TS. MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language

The rest are scattering

agdhād eko 'hutād ekah samasanād ekah TS: *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko . . . sanāsanād ekah* MŚ. TS, 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith). Knauer takes the MŚ form as *sana* + *a-sana* + *ad*. Both uncertain Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned *mademendram* (MS *maden*°) *yajamānāḥ svarkāḥ* VS MS KS. ŚB. TB Von Schroeder emends KS to *maden*°, without justification; the opt *madema* is probably the original form The other, with instr.

sg *madena*, is however construable, the *pāda* being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence Assimilation or dissimilation in MS ?

kad va ṛtaṁ kad anṛtam (SV *anṛtam*) RV SV See Benfey's note in his translation of SV, which is obviously secondary

jīvam (ApMB *jīvām*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV *nayanly*) *adhvare* (AV. °ram) RV AV. ApMB Clearly a secondary effort in AV. to make an obscure passage 'sensible'

abhīmam (TS °mām, MS MŚ v 1 °mān) *mahinā* (VS MŚ v. 1 °mā) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ MŚ In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness', in the secondary VS *mahimā* (acc to Mahidhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject

jāmim (KS *ṛcamī*) *mā hinsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB MŚ · mā *jāmim moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV The MŚ is clearly secondary.

akṣānām vagnum (MS *ṛragnum*, AV *ganam*, read *gatnum*) etc, AV. MS TB TA. See §832

ṛteva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB. HG. See §835

nen na ṛnān . TA · *nem na ṛnān* .. MS See §180 Particles *id* and *im*

śūro nṛṣṭā śavasaś (SV MS *śra°*) *cakānah* (SV. *ca ṛkāme*) RV. SV. TS MS

CHAPTER V. INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182. Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126-34, 154-61) contain some similar phenomena; and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between *c* and *t* (§156), and still more those between *d* and *j* (§159) and *d* and *y* (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between *j* and *y* (below, §192). Also the exchange between *kṣ* and *ts* (§140), *lṣ* and *ps* (§153a), and *ts* and *ps* (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with *ch*, as in the next following sections

1 *ch* varying with *lṣ*, *ts*, *ps*

§183. These changes are distinctly Prakritic; cf. above, §26, and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions; when *kṣ* etc. are secondarily substituted for *ch*, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism. Confusion often occurs in the mss, so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss we may mention *etatsandah* for *etac chandah* MS. 3, p. 22, n. 3; *āvr̥chata* for *ār̥tsata*, *ibid* 1, p. 18, n. 7; *ītsata* for *ichata* Kauś. 73. 15, *patsah* for *pacchah* Kauś. 82. 29. See further BR, s. vv. *laputsala*, *ucchādāna* etc. The pāda *pariādaṁ parilṣayam*, AV. Nakṣ., is read *parichavam* in many AV. mss; see Lanman's note ap. Whitney; and the Berlin ed. reads *uchantūnā maruto ghytena* in 3. 12. 4, with all of R-Wh.'s mss and most of SPP.'s, tho SPP. reads (correctly) *ukṣantūdnā* with three mss and comm. (Ppp, Barret JAOS 32. 366, has *ulṣantūnā*, emended by Barret to *ūdṇā*). Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda *tena yo 'smat samṛchātai*, TA 2. 4. 1c, the mss at MS. 4. 14. 17c read twice (247. 1 and 3) corruptly *samṛtsātām*, which von Schroeder emends to the TA reading—Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV *lṣu*, as for **pṣu* (*paśu*), *IP* 25. 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law.

§184. Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one

might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss, concern *lṣ* and *ch*

vācaspatē vāco vīryena sambhṛtata menāyalyase (TA °*yalyase*, ŚS °*yachase*) MS TA ŚS Tho *āyachase*, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from *ā-yaj* 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption. See VV I p 29

somī ghoṣena yachatu (SV *raḥṣatu*) RV SV The preposition *ā*, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs; *ā-yam* and *ā-tah* are here synonyms, 'bring hither' SV is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV 'pūṣābhi *raḥṣatu*) RV AV *anu-yam* 'guide'; *abhi-raḥṣ* 'protect'. Quasi-synonyms, but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics. The RV. original is much more neat and pointed

achalābhūh (KSA *acharābhūh*, MS *atsarābhūh* in p p, *matsarābhūh* in s p, VS *ṛḥṣalābhūh*) *kapinjalān* VS MS TS KSA. In AV. 10 9 23 occurs the form *ṛcharā*, with v l *ṛtsarā* which is supported by Ppp. The word is a name for a part of the horse's body, its original form is quite unknown. Note that *ts* as well as *kṣ* and *ch* occurs. Either *ts* or *kṣ*, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29f

§185. For *ts* and *ch*, besides the variant last quoted, we find:

namah kṛchrebhyah kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namah MS KS.: *namo grtsebhyo grtsepatibhyaś ca vo namah* VS TS. See §45

In AV 19 34 2a the mss read mostly *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśiḥ* (v l. *yā gr^c*; Berlin ed *aksakṛtyās*, certainly wrongly). For this Ppp reads (with slight corruption, Barret, JAOS 44. 262) *yāḥ kṛchchrās*. For the true Śaunakiya reading see §192

§186. For *ps* and *ch* we have noted only this.

ichanto 'paridāktān ApMB *ipsantah parijāktān* HG. The two words are of course perfect synonyms. One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems *icha-* and *ipsa-* by Goldschmidt, Göll Nachr 1874, 525, note

2 *sy* exchanging with *ś-c* or *s(h)* plus sibilant

§187. In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in *-sya* varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or *h*, the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction *ca*, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant) All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions Either reading may be at times the older

§188. We quote first the cases containing the conjunction *ca*, varying with *-sya*

stomo yaṣṇāś ca (TB *yaṣṇasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB °*lah*) RV TB The TB awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhyo* agree with Viṣṇu, with genitives dubiously depending on it, comm, *yaṣṇena twam ārādhanīyah* —Here the nominative is the original form, in the next two it is secondary to the genitive *na var śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG *śvelaś cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG ApMB HG MG In AG the epithet *śvela* is attracted to the noun *ahir* in the next pāda Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG makes good sense, a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes

ubhāv indrā (ŚB *indro*) *udītah sūryaś ca* VS ŚB *aya(h)sthūnam* (TS °*nāv*) *udīta* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS The Conc unjustly stigmatizes *indro* of ŚB as an error, it is a nom. sing, replacing the elliptic dual *indrā* (=Indra and Sūrya) of VS to match the complementary nom sing *sūryaś* which follows, cf Edgerton, KZ 43 110ff

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādātāh AV *yad apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādātāh* KS ApŚ

§189. In the rest the genitive *-sya* varies with a nominative in *h* followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant, again the movement may be in either direction

dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoh (AV *supratīlah sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The AV secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding Agn is meant both times See Whitney on AV 5 27 1

dhyā martah śasamate (SV *martasya śamatah*) RV SV The SV has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza, see VV I p 164

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (MG *riṣat*, mss mostly *riṣak*) PG MG *yaśo bhagasya vīdatu* ArS Conc suggests *bhagaś ca* for ArS No doubt PG is original ('let glory and fortune find me') But ArS makes *yaśo* object, and since *bhagaś* cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive 'let him find glory of fortune'

viprasya dhārayā lavih RV : *vīprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV. In SV the stem *vīpra* is attracted into agreement with the epithet *sutah*, for RV *lavih*, which is a synonym of *vīpra* and which SV contains in the preceding *pāda*

somah sutasya madhvah RV : *somah sutah sa madhumān* SV. Like the prec ; the genitives are (so naturally!), made to agree with *somah*

yunaṣṣu tīro viprah sūryasya te (MŚ *vīvrah sūryah save, or savah*) TS ApS MŚ . *yuktās tīro vimṛjah sūryasya* PB —MŚ. is clearly corrupt

mānasya patni śaranā syonā AV.: *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG The latter is hopelessly corrupt; Oldenberg follows AV in translating

3. Interchanges of *kṣ*, *kś*, and *khy*

§190. The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between *kh* and *ṣ*, *kṣ*, is treated by Wackernagel I §118 Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination *khy* in variation with *kṣ* or *kś* For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root *khyā* 'see', which regularly in MS, and once in KS., is spelled *kśā*; cf von Schroeder, Introduction to MS, p XLIII In fact the mss vary greatly; but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition This writing is also known to the grammarians

anukhyātre (KS **kśātre*) *namah* KS. GB Varit KŚ The *kś* of KS. (both mss) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written *-khyā-*.

vy akhyān (MS *akśān*) *mahiṣo divam* (AV.* TS *mahiṣah s(u)vah*) RV. AV (bis) SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The mss of MS vary, p p *akhyat* AVPpp agrees with RV

indra rbhukṣā marutah parī khyān (MS *kśān*) RV VS. TS MS KSA N. All mss of MS here *kṣyān*, p p *khyān*

anv agnir uṣasām agram akhyat (MS MŚ *akśat*) AV. VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. All mss of MS. *akśat* or *akṣyat*; p p *akhyat*. But most mss of MŚ *akśat*

vikhyāya (MS *vikśāya*) *caḥṣuā tvam* VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

svar abhivyakhyam (MS MŚ **kśam*) *jyotir varśvānaram* MS KS MŚ : *svar* (KhG *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS ApŚ. GG KhG

nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (MŚ *kśeṣam*) TS MS *duścakṣās te māvakṣat* (KS text with one ms **kṣat*, v l **khyat*) MS.

KS . *tam te duścakṣā māva khyat* TS † (so read) Whatever be the writing of KS, the meaning can only be that of *ava-khyā*

§191. In the following the reverse condition is found, the readings with *lhy* are secondary to *kṣ*.

yas te agne sumatim maro akṣat (AV *alhyat*, v 1 *akṣat*) RV AV If *akhyat* is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form)
viśvākṣam (MahānU *lhyam*) *viśvasambhuvam* TA MahānU. No doubt *viśvākṣam* 'having eyes all over', is the original, but *viśvākhyam* is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'
idhmasyeva prakṣāyatah (ŚŚ *prakhyā*) TB TA ŚŚ ApŚ Both TB and TA comms derive from root *lṣi* with intransitive meaning(!), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)', and similarly Caland on ApŚ Better from *pra-lṣā* (*kṣat*) 'burning up' In any case the ŚŚ (all mss) form shows phonetic decay; it makes no independent sense

4 *j* and *y* exchanging

§192. The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit Cf Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b, and above, our §§156, 159, 161 The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss, e.g. in AV 3 11 6 several mss read *javam* for *yuvam*, and the comm evidently had this reading before him Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case

uto (ŚŚ and GB Gaastra, *uta*) *padyābhur yaviṣṭah* (AB *ja*^o) AV AB GB ŚŚ The Berlin ed of AV also reads *yaviṣṭah*, against all mss There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form, the word can only mean 'swiftest' But only AB reads so in the mss, while not only AV and its Brāhmaṇa, GB, but the independent ŚŚ, have the 'corrupt' reading! Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss, regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology Similarly in the next.

jayñā (*yajñā*) *netasann* (read, *ned asann*, GB Gaastra *netar asann*) *apurogavāsah* (*avicetanāsah*), *yajñād eta sann apuro*^o, see §62 Again there is no doubt that *yajñā* is the 'correct' reading, but *j* for *y* occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts
tato ha jayñe (MŚ *tato 'ham yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāh* (MŚ *gopā*) TB ApŚ MŚ *te-ha jayñe bhu*^o *gopāh* PB Here the reverse change has occurred, MŚ. is clearly secondary

śalam yo nah śarado ajālān (SMB Conc *ajīyāt*, comm. *ajījanat*; PG *jījān*) TS SMB PG But Jorgensen reads for SMB. *ajīyāt*; comm *ajīyād ajyāt*, *aja gatīkṣepanayoh*, *gamayatu ity arthah*. Three mss of the text read *ajyāt* See VV I p 92f

saujāmim (ŚG *saujāmim*), sc *tarpayāmī*, AG ŚG Here *saujāmim* (so v 1 of ŚG) is doubtless original It is a n pr

yajñasya hi stha ṛtvijā (TB. ApŚ *ṛtvijau*) RV SV KS PB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *yajñasya ṛtvij-* is established from RV 1 1 1 on

tsro yahvasya (MS MŚ *jihvasya*, v 1 *yah°*) *samidhah pariṣmanah* RV MS ApŚ MŚ *jihvasya* probably corrupt, and certainly secondary

īśāno vi śyā (= *śyā*, TS *srjā*) *dṛtīm* AV TS MS KS The two forms are synonyms, TS is secondary

jāgrītsyas tripañcāśīh AV 19 34 2a, mss (v 1. *yā gr°*); R-Wh *akṣaḥ ṛtyās*, a bad emendation abandoned by Whitney, see his note Read either *yā grītsyas*, or better *yāh* (or *yās ca*) *kṛtyās* Cf §185

añjanī suprayasam pañca janāh RV MS, 'the five tribes anoint him (Agni), possessed of good regalement' *yuñjanī suprayasam* etc, AV Ppp 2 74 1 (Barret, JAOS 30 244), 'the five tribes employ him of good offspring' (secondary but not bad Vedic sense)

§193. Somewhat remoter are the following

hṛdo astv antaram tej juṣoṣat (TA. *īd yuyota*) RV. KS TA—TA secondary

samvatsarasya dhāyasā (AV VS *tejasā*) AV VS TS KSA HG

ramayata (KS °tā) *marutah syenam āyinaṁ* (MŚ °tāh *pretam vājinaṁ*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

āśum tvāṇu (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ Corrupt in ApŚ, Caland translates the KS reading Explained in §296

ya rte (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rte*, P B *†yakṣate*) *cīd abhiśṛṣah* RV AV SV PB *†9 10 1a*, TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG *jarī cetīd* (mss *cetīd*, p p *cya it, it*) *abhiśṛṣah* MS (corrupt)

5 Palatal stops and ś(ṣ)

§194. There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varying with the palatal sibilant, or once with the lingual sibilant (which varies frequently, as we shall see, with the palatal sibilant, so that this variant may represent the same tendency) But in all cases the lexical element is so marked as to make uncertain the degree to which real sound change enters The single case of § 15

abhy arṣata (AV. Vait Kauś *arcala*) *suṣṭutim gavyam ājim* RV. AV. VS KS Vait ApŚ Kauś For the favorite formula *abhy-arṣ* with *suṣṭutim* see *RVRep.* 523ff The AV variant is a lect fac (root *stu* suggests the synonym *arc*)

§195. The rest concern ś:

pratyāñ janān samcukocāntakāle N. in Durga (Roth, Erläuterungen 12, n. 4); *pratyāñ janās tiṣṭhati sarvatomukhaḥ* (ŚvetU. and ŚirasU.* *tiṣṭhati samcukocāntakāle*) VS. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. Dhātup has a root *kuś* 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected *ayaamayam vicrtā* (KS *viṣṭā*, v 1 °*dr̥tā*) *bandham etam* VS TS. MS KS ŚB.: *ayaamayān vi crtā bandhapāśān* AV. The original *vicrtā* means 'loosen thou'. KS. seems felt as 2 plur. from *vi-ṣṭ* 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural.

vīśasya devī mṛcayasya (ŚŚ. *mṛśa*°) *janmanah* AB AŚ. ŚŚ *mṛcayasya* is rendered 'perishable'; perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious'. ŚŚ's *mṛś*° may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form

prthivyāḥ samprcāḥ (MS MS. °*cas*, VS ŚB *samspr̥śas*) *pāhi* VS TS MS. ŚB. TB ApŚ MŚ Also: *divaḥ samspr̥śas* (MS *sampr̥cas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. The two words are synonyms

śvitro (MŚ *citro*) *raḥ-ṣitā* AV. MS. TS ApMB. Also: *śvitra* (MS *citra*) *ādityānām* VS MS. Again the two words are synonyms Some AV. mss. have *citro* in the first variant; Ppp. ms *śaltro*, Barret *JAOS* 32. 370 em *śvitro*.

yat kṣureṇa marcayatā (MG *varṭayatā*) *sutejasā* (AG PG HG ApMB *supēśasā*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB MG.

agre (TB. *agne*, Poona ed *agre*) *yajñasya cetalah* (RV *śotalah*) RV KS. TB.

ūrdhvacitah (MS. KS. °*śrūtah*) *śrayadhvam* (VS. text *ṣṇa*°, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm, which glosses *sevadhvam*; ŚB correctly *śra*°) VS TS. MS. KS ŚB TA. Assimilation to *śrayadh-tam* in MS. KS

mṛśase (SV. *mṛjyase*) *parase matī* RV. SV. The change from (*pari*-) *mṛś* 'thou dost embrace', to *mṛjyase* 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following *parase*, or by recollection of *mṛjyase soma sālaye* RV. 9. 56 3.

chilīṣipu chilīṣate ŚŚ : *aślīṣipu ślīṣate* AV (mss ; R-Wh. em *aśīṣlikṣum śīṣlikṣate*). Unknown words.

tanūpās (TB Conc *tanūpāc*, Poona ed. text and comm *ṭlanūnapēc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS KS TB. The TB (which obviously reads *tanū-*

napāc) has repeated this word from the preceding *pāda*, where it occurs as a name of Agni. The other reading is clearly original.

6 Miscellaneous

§196. Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which *j* and *h* vary, in the other *lṣ* and *hṣ*

mahnā jinoṣi (MS *hinoṣi*) *mahnā* RV TS MS KS ApMB N. Synonymous rime-words

āyurdā (*āyusmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*haviṣo*, *haviṣā*) *vṛnānah* (etc.), see §854

dwyah koṣah samukṣitah MS. *dauyah koṣah* (AV *devakoṣah*) *samubṛatah* AV. TS KS. The MS. reading is a riming corruption.

CHAPTER VI LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197. The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on *b* and *v* is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects, and the interchanges of *v* and *m* also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in *v* and *m*, are also concerned, and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between *v*, *b*, and *p*.

p (once, *ph*) and *v*

§198. Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which *p* is the more original, they are listed in the following

yas tān (TA MahānU *tad*) *veda sa pituh* (AV *sa pituṣ*, most mss *pituh*, TA *savituh*) *pitāsai* AV VS TA MahānU *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ* (TA *savituh*) *pitāsai* RV AV TA N 'He shall be Savitar's-father' is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of 'he shall be the father's father', cf. Bergaigne 2 104, 108

abhiśaster avasparat (SV *avasvarat*) RV SV 'Fight away' 'sound away', in either case 'protect' (SV. comm *pālayatu*) But *ava-spar*, and not *ava-svar*, is elsewhere used in this sense; see e.g. RV 10 39 6, 8 66 14

ṛtasya goptrī tapasah paraspī (SMB °*vī*, MG *tarutrī*) SMB ApMB MG *paīaspī* 'protectress (of *tapas*)' *parasvī* (also in some mss of ApMB) may be a case of dissimilation from initial *p* (comm *utkr̥ṣṭadhanarūpā*)

spārḥā (TB *svārūḥā*) *yasya śrīyo dṛṣe* RV KS TB And *spārḥo* (TB *svārūho*) *deva nyulvatā* RV SV VS TB The TB reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical. Comm., wobblingly, once *susṭhu ratham ārūdhah*, once *svasmad eva prarūdhāh*

hiranyaparna śakune PG *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU *hiranyapaśah śakunih* HG Practically synonyms. Contrast *darbhah śrñīta* etc. under §200

jāmim ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt AV *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lolān* TA The AV original 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven' Poona ed. of TA reads *jāmi mivā mā vivitsi lokāt* (*v* 1 *lolān*)

- Its comm regards the second person as addressed to the *yajamāna* (gloss, *lapsyasi*) But neither reading of TA. really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of *p* to preceding *v*
- nāhro malarah kulīpayas* (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) te 'kūpārasya (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS TS MS KSA Von Schroeder suggests *kūvārasya*; certainly rightly. *kūvāra* and *kūpāra* are quoted lexically as equivalents for *akūpāra* 'ocean'.
- nāpa vrījāle na gamāto antam* AV *nāvaprjyāte na gamāle antam* TB. *ava-prj* is the original, it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving Note *apa· ara* also (§201)
- yatrāspṛkṣat* (HG *yatrā vrkṣas*) *tanuvam* (AV *tanvo*, HG *tanuvai*) *yatra vāsah* (AV *yac ca vāsasah*) AV. ApMB HG 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, *yadī vrkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*
- yamasya dūlās ce vāg vidhāvati* MS. *yamasya dūtah śvapād vidhāvati* TA. See §145
- yunaḥmī tīro viprcāh sūryasya te* (MŚ *tīro vīrtah sūryah savah*, or *save*) TS ApŚ MS See §57
- ajāśvah paśupā vājapastyah* (TB 'vastyah) RV. MŚ TB Comm. on TB, *vastyam grham* (= *pastyam*, see *RVRep.* 58) This, and the lexical statements that *vastya* means 'house', may be based on corruptions of *pastya*, but thoughts of the root *vas* 'dwell' doubtless helped
- yat paśur* (Kauś *yad vaśā*) *māyum akrta* (Kauś *akrata*) TS ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ MŚ SMB GG Kauś A synonym is substituted in Kauś *sarpadevajanebhyah* (AŚ *sarva*) *svāhā* AŚ. AG Tho the context is different, AŚ looks suspiciously like a lect fac
- śatāpāśthādya* (read, °ś(hā gha, with both Poona edd) *viṣā pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāṣād dhaviṣā vārṇah* MS See §86
- ghṛtam duhānā vīsvatah prapītāh* (TB ApMB *prapīnāh*, AVPpp. *pravīnāh*) RV. AV VS TB ApMB Barret, *JAOS* 35 88, would keep *pravīnāh*, but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption
- §199. The one case of *ph v* concerns a senseless substitution of *śavam* for *śapham*, some sort of implement:
- iṣām khṛgalyam śavam* MS *iṣām khagalyam śapham* ApŚ. Tho corrupt in *śavam*, MS seems to be correct in *khṛgalyam* (cf *khṛgala*, RV), for which ApŚ has a Prakritic ḁπ. λεγ.

- §200. The *v* reading seems to be original in the following.
- vr̥ṣṭim* (SV * *pr̥*^o) *divah parisrava* RV SV (bis) *pr̥ṣṭim* can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates, perhaps the root *pruṣ* (which also appears as *pr̥ṣ*, §680) may have infected the word
- mahyam dattvā vrajata* (TAA *prajātum*) *brahmalokam* AV. TAA. The TAA. reading, at best a poor infinitive from *pra-jan*, is an untranslatable corruption. Comm. takes it for *prajātam* by Vedic license!
- yathāpah pravatā yanti* TA TU Kauś. *yathā yanti prapadah* SMB. See §60.
- iheha vah svatapasah* (TA *svatapasah*) RV MS. KS TA AŚ. Significant of the growth in importance of *tapas*, which here crowds out *svatapas*, a standard epithet of the Maruts
- tve kratum apī vr̥ṣṇanti viśve* (AV *apī pr̥ṣṇanti bhūri*) RV AV. SV VS AA ApŚ. MŚ. See §57
- divyam suparnam vāyasam* (AV. *payasam*, KS. VS TS * ŚB *vayasā*, MS TS * *vayasam*) *br̥hantam* RV AV VS TS (bis) MS. ŚB AŚ. Suparn. There is no point in calling the eagle 'milky'; but Ppp. agrees on *payasam* (twice). Once the AV. comm. has the hardihood to say that *payasam* is for *va*^o by Vedic license
- payasvan māmakam vacah* (AV * *payah*) RV AV. (bis) KS. In AV. assimilation to preceding *payasvan*, obviously secondarily. But TS TB MŚ have a further alteration: *payasvad vīrudhām payah*
- amba nīspara* (TS. ApŚ *nīspara*, KS KapŚ *nīspara*, MS *nīsmara*, p p *nih*, *smara*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. The majority (in which we count MS with *m*) points to *v* rather than *p*, but the word is obscure in all forms
- suvarnapaṣṣāya* (MahānU *suparna*^o) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original, see under next.
- darbhāṣṭh stīṇīlā haritāṣṭh suparnaṣṭh* (KS †*suvarnaṣṭh*) KS MŚ. *hotṛśadanam haritām hīranyayam* AV. *hotṛśadanā haritāṣṭh suvarnaṣṭh* TB ApŚ. *suvarna-* is certainly original, as AV. shows, cf. preceding, and, for the reverse change, *hīranyaparna śakune* etc., §198
- parivādami pariṣṣavam* (mss. mostly *parichavam*) AV Nakṣ. *parivādami pariṣṣavam* ApMB. The variant word must mean 'sneezing', see Lanman ap. Whitney. The ApMB can hardly be anything but a corruption, one ms. has *°vam*
- tvam rājāsi pradivah* (VS VSK *pratīpat*) *sulānām* RV VS VSK TS MS KS. N. See §64
- tam ajarebhīr vṛṣabhis tava* (ApŚ *tapa*) *svaṣṭi* RV KS ApŚ. Followed by *tapā tapīṣṭha tapasā tapasvān* RV. KS, *tapa tapasva tapasū tapīṣṭha*

ApŚ, which has clearly changed *tava* under the influence of this pāda Caland understands *tapa* as a voc., 'O Brennender.'
sa bhūmim viśvato (ArS *sarvato*) *ṛtvā* (VS. *sarvata sprtvā*) RV AV. ArS VS TA Comm. on VS *vyāpya* 'pervading', which is not far from *ṛtvā* 'encompassing'.

anupahvad (ApMB. *anu po 'hvaḍ*) *anupahvayet* (ApMB *anuhvayah*) HG ApMB In ApMB *po* intends *vo* (pronoun), HG is corrupt and obscure See §732 There is no real variant here, both forms having *p*

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV. *sprśantām*, Ppp. [acc. to Roth] *viśanta*, TA *mśantām*) RV. AV TA.

jaḥṣwānsaḥ papwānsaś ca viśve VS etc ; the text of VS. is misprinted as *papṛpānsaś*, corrected, p XXII]

§201. In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants between the prepositions *apa* and *ava* So close are they in meaning that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general: *nāpa ṛṇjāle* (*nāvaprjyāle*) . see §198

ava (AV *apa*) *tasya balam tira* RV. AV. Note that RV has only *ava-tr*, never *apa-tr*

apa (TA. ApŚ † *ava*) *bādhātām dūrītāni viśvā* MS TA ApŚ. Both familiar

dvīṣantam me 'vabādhasva (Poona ed °*dhāsai*, but v. l. and comm. °*sva*) TA : *dvīṣantam apa bādhasva* SMB If the Poona ed text is right, this should be added to VV I §152

dhātā samudro apa (AG 'va) *hantu pāpam* AG PG.

yat tatraino apa tat suvām AV · *yad atraino ava tat suvām* TA

idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanasya pāpmānam ava (ApMB. *apa*) *gūhām* HG ApMB

yad avāmṛkṣac (ApŚ *apā°*) *chakunih* KS ApŚ. MŚ

yenāpāmṛśatam (SMB v 1.°*mṛśatam*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yenāvamṛśatām surām* PG

apa (AV *ava*) *śveta padā jahṇ* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG : *apah śveteḥ pad āgah* MĠ

ābhur anyo 'pa (ApMB 'va) *padhyatām* ApŚ HG ApMB · *mātur anyo 'va padhyata* ŚG.

sarvān ava yajāmahe KS † TB TA ApŚ · *sarvān apa yajāmasi* Kauś. *ava-yaḥ* is more archaic

indur indum avāgāt (KS *avāgan*, MŚ *upāgāt*, v 1 *apāgāt*) KS. PB TB. ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ava dīlśām asrkṣata (ApMB. *adāsīha*) *svāhā* AV ApMB *iyam apa*
(v l *ava*) *dīlśām ayaṣṭa* SMB

apa kṣudham nudatām arātīm TB *ava sedīm tṛṣṇām kṣudham jah*
Kauś

§202. To these obviously belong two interchanges of *avāñc* and *apāñc*, both of which are contrasted with *prāñc*, which makes it certain that *apāñc* is intended, and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB in the first case

apāpāco (TB *°vāco*) *abhūbhūle nudasva* RV AV AB GB TB But
Poona ed of TB text and comm. *apāpāco*, clearly correctly
āyus ca prāyus ca prāñ cūpāñ (ApŚ *cāvāñ*) *ca* MS ApŚ

p and m

§203. The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots *tap* and *tam*. A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them

§204. The roots *tap* and *tam* are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that *tap* occurs exclusively in RV. texts, *tam* in Tait texts

tapasas (TB *tamasas*) *tan mahinājyātākam* RV. TB
mā tamō (AŚ *tapō*) *mā yajñas tamat* (AŚ *tapat*), followed by
mā yajamānas tamat (AŚ *yajñapatas tapat*) TB ApŚ AŚ

§205. The rest are sporadic
kṣumāsī VS *kṣupāsī* VSK An arrow is addressed obscurely Comm
on VS 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup root *kṣmā*(i), perhaps
confused with *kṣubh*- Is VSK influenced partly by *kṣip*?

amba nṣpara (*nṣmara*, etc), see §200

yuktās tisro vimrjah yunajmi tisro viprcah (*viṣṛtah*) , see §57
namo 'gnaye prthivīṣṭe (ChU MU *prthivī*°) *lokasṛte* (MU *°smṛte*,
ChU *°ḥṣṭe*) TS KSA ApŚ ChU MU And similarly *namo*
vāyave 'ntarikṣaḥṣṭe , *nama ādityāya* (*namah sūryāya*, *nama*
ādityebhyaś) , each time with MU alone reading *lokasṛte*
All in the same passage There is no doubt that *lokasṛte* is
original, Deussen renders MU 'Weltgewahrer', seemingly having
°sṛte in mind

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *sṛśantām*, Ppp [Roth] *viśanta*,
TA *mṛśantām*) RV AV TA

apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra SMB *amā ma edhī mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ
†ma) *indra* AŚ ŚG See §78
viśvā sṛdhō (AV *mṛdho*) *abhūmātīr jayema* RV AV TA

b and v

§206. This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original *b* and original *v*, see Wackernagel I §161. The mss are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions *vi* and *ava*, or the roots *vid* and *vad*, or the noun *vīra*, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with *b*. On the other hand there is scarcely any original *b* which is not occasionally written *v* (*pivāmi*, for instance, for *pibāmi*). This elusive theme (cf. Grassmann, KZ 12 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition.

§207. Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic. There are only a few which involve real lexical change. These are-

carmevāvādhus (TB °*bādhus*) *tamo apsv antah* RV MS KS TB ApŚ

The original *avādhus* = *ava* + *adhus* 'they have put away'. TB understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from *bādh* 'they have overcome'. Poona ed of TB has indeed *avādhus* in its text, but the comm even there has *abādhus*, glossing *vināśitavantaḥ*

devīm aham nūrṭim bādhamānah (TS *vandamānah*) TS KS ApŚ
'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction. TS doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS, but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'.

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS *bibhṛato*) *jāta-vedāḥ* AV KS : *yatra-yatra jāta-vedāḥ sambabhūta* (TB *sambabhūva*, but Poona ed text and comm °*tha*) TB ApŚ. The form is dubious. The text tradition of AV. (19 3 1) supports *bi-*, not *vi-*, mss almost all *bibhṛto* or *bibhṛato*, tho the comm reads *vi-*, and so both editions. All three mss of KS *bi-* (vv II *bibhṛto* and *bibhṛato*). In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construe anything but *vi-bhṛto* (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts). Cf next.

atandrāso yuvataṣo jvibhṛtram (TB Conc *vibhṛtram*, Poona ed text and comm *bibhṛ*°) RV TB. Cf preceding, here we have adjective epithets of Agni (TB comm *poṣakam*, understanding a reduplicated form of *bhr*).

sakhāyau saplapadāv abhūva (ApMB °*padā babhūva*) ApMB HG. The

absurd form of most ApMB mss is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, *Introd*, xvi.

usrā (MŚ *usrāv*) *etam dhūrvāhau* (KS *dhūrbādhā*) . . VSK KS MŚ
Others, §122

yāv (MS KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS †*°tho*, AV *vśatho*) *yau·ca rakṣatah* (AV KS *°thah*) AV. TS MS KS

[*tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ. text, *balam*) *sahah* AA ŚŚ : *tuje janā* (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV ArS This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since *balam* is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with *b*, now with *v*, the meaning being precisely the same There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words The variation is about equally common with original *b* and original *v*, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole Second, such prevalence in the older texts Third, the evidence of etymology When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear But especially *b* is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf. Wackernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain *v*

Original *v*

§209. We begin with forms in which *v* is certainly or probably original There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root *vādh* or *badh*, of which the former seems older (*badh* not in RV) and remains commoner thru the language The occasional *b*-forms met with from AV on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root *bādh* (and perhaps of *bandh*) In several variants, VS texts (particularly VSK) seem to favor *badh*, but contrary instances occur:

dvīṣato bādho (MŚ *vadho*) 'sī VS KŚ MŚ

mā tvā samudra ud vadhān (VSK *badhān*) *mā suparnah* VS. TS. MS KS

ŚB

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK *ba°*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MŚ
KS ŚB

mā me dīkṣām mā tapo nīr vadhiṣṭa (KŚ *ba°*) TS KŚ MŚ

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hatah' (VSK *rakṣo* 'muṣya *tvā badhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS VSK ŚB. KŚ · *avadhiṣma rakṣah*
TS. MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

rīrān mā no rudra bhāmīto (SMB ŚvetU °mīno, Jørgensen °mīto for SMB) *vadhīh* (TAA SMB. *badhīh*; but Poona ed of TAA and Jørgensen's of SMB. both *va*°) RV. TS MS KS TAA. ŚvetU. SMB : *mā no rīrān rudra bhāmīno vadhīh* VS

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB *avartyai* †*vadhā*°) VS TB (so Poona ed)

nātārīd (TB °rīr) *asya samṛtīm vadhānām* (TB *ba*°, but Poona ed. *va*°) RV TB

ayanam mā vivadhīr (TAA *vība*°, but Poona ed text and comm *vīva*°) *vikramasva* TA TAA.

Cf. also the following, in which MS is surely corrupt (see §260) Apparently MS MŚ understand forms of *vadh*, *badh*, while TA has a form of *vrdh*:

mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vrdhānah (MS *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS. TA : *mā no rudrāso adhi gur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ

§210. Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV. on (under the influence of *bala* 'strength'). Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV., the word is probably connected with root *vṛ*:

indro valam (MS *balam*) *rakṣītāram dughānām* RV. AV. MS.

ivaṁ valasya (AŚ *balasya*) *gomatah* RV †1 11 5, SV AŚ

bībheda valam (AV AŚ *balam* but many AV. mss *valam*) *bhṛgur na sasāhe* (AV *sasahe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ

ud valasyābhīnat (but all mss °nas, which read) *tvacam* ApŚ *ud balasyābhī nas* (read *balasyābhīnas*) *tvacam* MŚ The form *abhīnas* is for *abhīnat*, 2d person imperf, with *s* for *t* by analogy with 2d persons in *s* This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262; but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being *abhīnas*

yo gā udājad apa (MS *apī*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

indro yad abhīnad valam (GB *balam*, but Gaastra *valam* with most of his mss) RV. AV SV AB GB

sa bībheda balam (VS and Poona ed of TB *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*) VS MS KS TB.

§211. There is no doubt that the words for fat, *pīvas* etc, have original *v*, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of *v* in Sanskrit Nevertheless there are a few *b* forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity.

pīvo vrkṣa udārathīh RV KS *pīvasphākam udārathīm* AV. In AV Shankar Pandit prints *pīvaspākam* (comm *pīvaspākam*, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's mss Ppp has *pīvasākam* (Barret, *JAOS* 30 191, em *pīvaspākam*) *udāhṛtam* Cf Whitney on AV 4 7 3, 3 17 3, and Index Verborum of AV under *pīv°* and *pīv°*.

prapharvyam ca pīvarīm VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh *pībarīm ca prapharvyam* AV (comm *pīv°*, Ppp according to Roth reads like VS etc except *prapharvyām*)

neva mānse na pīvasi AV *naiwa mānsena pīvari* PG —SPP with some mss and comm reads *pīvasi* in AV, so also Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26 205) PG, tho with correct *v*, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc sing fem of *pīvan*)

§212. In the root *vṛh* or *bṛh* 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain. It has no known etymology, and both *b* and *v* are traditionally recorded in RV. Wackernagel I §161 regards *v* as original, on not very substantial grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other root *bṛh* 'be great' etc, has helped the variation in spelling (cf §215). Later, *bṛh* seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear'. The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage. In them *vṛh* is the real reading of all texts, Weber erroneously prints *bṛh*- in TS against nearly all his mss.

ādityās tvā pra bṛhantu (most mss *vṛh°*) TS *viśvebhyas tvā devebhyah pra vṛhām* KS *ādityebhyas tvā pra vṛhām* MS Add to VV I §312

vasavas tvā pra vṛhantu (TS ed *bṛh°*, most mss *vṛh°*) *gāyatrēna chandasā* TS ApS

§213. There are five examples, mostly dubious, of *vandhura* (*vandhur*) *bandhura*, RV always spells the word with *v*. Connexion with root *bandh* is therefore unlikely. Bloomfield, *RVRep* 236, analyzes the word as *van* + *dhura* (*dhur*) 'board at the head of the wagon pole' *trivandhuro* (TB *triban°*, Poona ed *trivan°*, comm *triban°*) *manasā yātu yuktah* RV TB (in Conc by error, TS) MS

ā yāhy arvān upa vandhureṣṭhāh (GB AA *ban°*, but Gastra and Keith in both *van°*) RV AB KB GB AA ŚŚ
pra nūnam pūrnāvandhura (VS ŚB LŚ *°ban°*) RV VS TS MS KS. ŚB, LŚ

ratham hīranyāvandhuram (TA *sahasraban°*, but Poona ed text and comm *°van°*, with *v* l *°ban°*) RV TA
trivandhureṇa (KS *triban°*) *trivṛtā rathena* RV. KS

§214. In the following isolated cases *v* is also probably original:
vahīṣṭhebhīr (MS *ba*°) *vīharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm and Poona ed text, *yāsi*) *tantum* RV MS KS TB AŚ ApŚ The word can only mean 'swiftest', root *vah*
stad brahmann upavalhāmasi (AŚ *apa*°, LŚ *upabalihāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ The root is *valh*, apparently always except here in LŚ It is perhaps a form of *vrh*, §212
capyam (TB Poona ed *cappam*) *na pūyur bhīṣag asya vālah* (KS *vārah*, TB *bālah*, Poona ed *vālah*) VS MS KS TB The word means 'sieve' and is regularly *vāla*, or in the older language *vāra* The converse of this in the variant *kūr̥kuro bālabandhanah (vāla*°), where properly *bāla* 'child', §215

Original *b*

§215. In the following the *b* form is certainly or probably original The VS texts seem to show a tendency towards *v*, in spite of their seeming (?) preference for *b* in forms of *vadh* (§209) First, three cases in which etymology proves *b* the older

savitṛprasūtā bṛhaspataye (PB LŚ **†vrh*°) *stuta* GB PB Vait LŚ.

Twice in LŚ, once printed *vr*° and once *br*°, but comm both times *vr*° which must be correct (since quoted from PB which has *vr*°).—

On the other root *vrh*, 'tear', see §212

kūr̥kuro bālabandhanah (ApMB *vāla*°) PG ApMB. Both must intend *bāla*, 'child', probably connected with Russian *balovat* 'spoil' (treat as a child)

ya ābabhūva (PB *āva*°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*°, comm *viśvāni*) VS JB PB ŚŚ. Vait Tho PB comm repeats the incredible *āvababhūva*, it is doubtless corrupt

§216. In the following *b* forms are older or more usual, tho the etymologies of the words are unknown

yad dhastābhyām cakṛma (MS TB TA *cahara*) *kīlbiṣāni* (TA. *kīlv*°, but Poona ed *kīlb*°) AV MS TB. TA

viśvasmād devakīlbiṣāt AV MS *sarvasmād devakīlbiṣāt* (VS °*kīlv*°, LŚ *eva kīlb*°) RV VS MS LŚ ApŚ

kṛte yonau (KS *kṛto yonar*) *vapateha bījam* (VS ŚB *vījam*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB

basto (VS *vasto*) *vayah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

dhamaṇṭi bākuraṁ (JB *vā*°) *drtum* RV JB.

Original *b* or *v* uncertain

§217. In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of *b* or *v*. The VS texts again seem to favor *v*. First, three cases of *padbīṣa* 'or' **vīṣa* 'fetter'. It is always spelled with *b* in RV, which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin *vincio* (Wackernagel I §161); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30, and on the false form **vinśa*, JAOS 51 170

alho (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīṣāt* (VS **vīṣāt*, LŚ † *ṣadvinśāt*) RV
AV VS LŚ ApŚ

samdānam arvanam padbīṣam (VS MS **vīṣam*) RV VS TS MS KSA
yac ca padbīṣam (VS MS **vīṣam*) *arvatah* RV VS TS MS KSA Here
the sole ms of KS has **vīṣam*

§218. Two variants contain the word *bāna* or *vāna* 'arrow', both R̥gvedic. In later Sanskrit the *v* form is commoner
yatra bānāḥ (VS *vānāḥ*) *sampatanti* RV. SV. VS TS AG
viśalyo vānavān (TS *bā°*, MS *bāṇavan*, KS *bānavān*, NīlarU *vānavān*)
uta VS TS MS KS NīlarU

§219. The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin.
māgadhaḥ punścali kṛtāvah kṛbo ... (VSK *punścali kṛvāḥ kṛtavo* . . .)
te prājāpatyāḥ VS VSK *kṛbo* appears to be commoner
digbhyo vadabe (KSA *vadave*) TS KSA *badabā* and *vā°* are also found
drvāsi VS . *drbāsi* KS . *drubāsi* VSK An arrow is addressed, said to
mean 'piercing' (root *dṛ*)

lśatrasyolbam (VS TB **vam*, but TB Poona ed **bam*) *asī* VS TS MS
KS ŚB. TB ApŚ MŚ Both common, RV knows only *b* (once).
viśvarūpā śabalir (KS *śavalir*) *agniketuḥ* TS KS PG *b* is commoner
marudbhyo gṛhamedhībhyo (MS **dhebbhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS *vaṣ°*, ApŚ
bāṣkān) VS MS ApŚ Rare and obscure

subīraṇa (HG *suvirīṇah*) *srja-srja* (ApMB adds *śunala*), and,
śunām agram subīranah (HG *suvirīṇah*) HG ApMB Anomalous
name of a dog-demon. The ApMB mss are discordant
aulaba (HG. **va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG **la*) HG ApMB In same
context as the preceding

bh and *v*

§220. These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving *abhi* and *vi*, in most, probably all, of which the *abhi* forms are prior
viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (MS **nā vicaṣṭe*) RV MS TB . *viśvānuo*

bhuvanā vicaṣṭe AV. Cf *abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV, and *abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV

devānām viṣṭhām (ApŚ † *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vi taṣṭhe* VSK TB. KŚ ApŚ.

dīvo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vi caṣṭe MŚ

mandrābhiṣṭhāt (MŚ *mandrā vibhūtāt*) *ketur* TS. TB ApŚ. MŚ *asrñmukho rudhīrenābhyaktah* (TA. °*avyaktah*) MS TA. *abhyaktah*

'smeared', is clearly original TA. comm understands *a-vyaktah* (not *ā-*), explaining *īdrgjātir uti niścetum aśakyah*

§221. The participles *ābhṛtam* and *āvṛtam* exchange in two pādas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both; secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other, see Whitney on AV. 6 125 2.

vanaspatibhyah pary ābhṛtam (MS *āvṛtam*) *sahah* RV. AV. VS TS. MS KSA

apām ojmānam pari gobhir āvṛtam (AV. *ābhṛtam*), same texts SPP with some mss and comm *āvṛtam* for AV.

§222. The rest are sporadic.

yamūr yamasya bibhryād (AY *virhād*) *ajām* RV AV. *virhād* is unintelligible; it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it makes good sense See Whitney's note

ye no dviṣanty anu tēn rabhasva AV · *yo nṛ dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva* ApŚ See AJP 27 413; Caland on ApŚ 7. 17. 2

adṛīhathāh sarkarābhis trivṣṭapī (MŚ *tribhṣṭibhīh*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with pebbles'. The MŚ assimilates the last word in meaning to *sarkarābhis*, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed pebbles'.

bhansaso (ApMB *dhvansaso*) *vi vrhām te* RV. AV. ApMB. Cf. §176; *dhva°* has a sort of assonance to *bha°*.

v and *m*, phonetic changes

§223. This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper JAOS 13 xcvi ff., and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it. See Wackernagel I §177 note

§224. The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions, but even these contribute their

mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds
First, with original *v*

uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañ*^o) *pr̥thwī mā n̄ bādhatāh* (TA *n̄ bādhatāh*)
RV. AV TA And.

ucchvañcamānā (TA *ucchmañ*^o) *pr̥thwī su tiṣṭhatu* (TA *h̄ tiṣṭhasi*) RV
AV TA (To be added to VV I §§116 and 332) See Wackernagel
I §177

suśīmam somasatsaru AV. *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*)
VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh Attempts are made to explain
suśīmam as *su-śīman*, or from root *śi* with suffix *ma*, but while some
such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is
essentially phonetic

jyog jīvema saravavīrā vayam tama MG (all mss) *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā*
vayam tava RV AV SV MS SMB HG ApMB *mā riṣāmā*
vayam tava Vait GB AVPPP (Barret, JAOS 26 278) The formula
vayam tava 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced
in MG, was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible
**vayamitama* (as if superlative to *vayas*)?

ā tvam (GB *ātman*, Gastra *ā tvam* with *v* 1 *ātman*; LŚ *ā svam*)
indrāya pyāyasva VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait
LŚ (Probably *ā tvam* is to be read in LŚ, its edition is very untrust-
worthy) The converse corruption in Kauś 65 15, where four of
seven mss read *devā tvā* for *devātmā*

anamivāsa idayā (MS *anamīmāsā idayā*, but p p **vāsah, idayā*) *mad-*
antah RV MS TB ApŚ *anamīmāsa*, if correct, might perhaps be a
case of assimilation, but it may be only a misprint which escaped
the editor's attention The *pratīka* occurs as *anamivāsah* later
in MS 4 12 6 (197 8)

nī dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *mahah*, all mss; ed em *vahah*) AV ŚŚ

§225. On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following,
the *v* forms being often mere corruptions; cf JB *pratītam devebhyo*
juṣṭam ha vyavasthāt, where **havyam asthāt* is pretty certainly intended
ā galdā dhamanīnām MŚ N *ā galgā dhavanīnām* ApŚ *dhamanī* 'vein'
is correct, indeed the whole pāda is corrupt in ApŚ, see §144
Possibly thought of *dhav(dhu) = dhāv* 'run' may have fitted thru
the mind of the ApŚ redactor.

agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah (TB **dūtyam vāriṣanyah*) RV MS TB
ApŚ Comm on TB *vāriṣanyo mā rīriṣah* (= *māriṣanyah*)

punar dātām (TA *dattām*) *asum adyeha bhadrām* RV AV TA 'Let
them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life' The

preceding *pāda* is *tāv asṁabhyam dṛśaye sūryāya*; perhaps TA's *dattāv* is contaminated by the preceding *tāv*. The comm., at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv. act. = *dattām* (*dattau prayachatām*) There is no accent on *dattāv*

a mā mṛta (MG *vṛtat*, one ms *mṛtam*) AG ApMB MG cf. *tam mā mṛdhah* ŚG *mṛta* is required 'may he not die'

sarasvatyā adhi manāv (KS *mānā*, SMB Conc *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarḥṣuh* (*acaḥṣuh*, *carḥṣuh*, see §170) KS TB ApŚ *sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarḥṣuh* AV The mss of SMB which read *vanāva* have simply a phonetic corruption

ṛhaspatiḥ tvā (TS KS ApŚ **tis tvā*) *sumne ramnātu* (TS ApŚ *ranvatu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ And

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *ranva*, MS *rane*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Here the verb stem *ranva* of the Tait school is based on the adjective *ranva*, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds *m* and *v*. Comm. on TS 1. 3. 7. 1, *ranva ramanīyam kuru* See VV I p 121

v and *m*, lexical variants

§226. Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic *pādas* or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in *RVRep* 553ff Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between *m* and *v*, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole

§227. Thus the roots *man* and *van*, and derivatives interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV. itself.

sīdantu manuṣo yathā RV *sīdanto vanuṣo yathā* RV SV LŚ In *RVRep* 60ff the first form is taken to be original The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, *m* is again prior:

manuṣvad (TB *vanuṣvad*) *deva dhīmahi pracetasam* RV. TB

etat tvātra (LŚ *etat tām*) *pratīmanvāno* (AŚ **vanvāno*) *asmī* (AŚ † LŚ *asmīn*) VS. AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ 'Thinking in reply' 'offering, presenting in return'

purutrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*) *viṣṭham jagat* RV AV VS TS MS KSA. N. 'Take note of' 'acquire', *jagat* is subject in RV. etc., object in AV See VV I p 266.

yat lṣurena marcayātā (MG *varlayātā*) *sutejasā* (AG PG ApMB HG *supeśasā*) AV AG PG ApMB HG MG 'Injuring' 'moving' In AVPPP we find *varcayātā*, a sort of *vox media*, perhaps with thought of *varcas*, but really of course corrupt

yuktās tīsrī vimṛjah . *yunaṣṣmī tīstro vipṛcah* (*vīṛtah*) , see §57

§235 In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter, the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge

ā raśmīn (RV *raśmim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB *svaśvah*) RV VS ŚB TB Tho TB is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others, comm *raśmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya mīśrīkuru*

drapsaś cakanda prthivīm anu dyām (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Interesting case of the spread of *dyu* in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite *prthivī* in all later texts against RV

kauberakā viśvavāsah HG *mīśravāsasah kauberakāh* ApMB (probably original)

avimuktacakra (v 1 °rā) *āsīran* PG *vīṛtīlā akrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB *sa me mukham pra mārksyate* (ApMB *vekṣyati*) PG ApMB 'He will cleanse (enter) my mouth' Probably PG is original

āñjanena sarpiṣā sam vīsanu (AV *sprsanām*, TA *mṛsanām*) RV AV TA —PPP (Roth) *vīsanu*

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vad asau vadā svāhā* HG † *adho vadādharo vada* HG ApMB certainly original, the first form of HG unquestionably intends the same, and *vad* is a corruption or phonetic variant for *mad*

vṛtrasyāsi (KS *mitra*°) *lanīnikā* (VS ŚB °*nalak*) VS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG *vṛtrasya lanīnikāsi* (VSK °*nakāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ Secondary change in KS

anu tvā harino vṛṣā (ApŚ *mṛgah*) AV ApŚ

aśādhāyu sahamānāya vedhase (TB *mīdhuse*) RV TB N

mitro (VS *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāh* RV VS TS MS TA

pra hansāsas tṛpalam manyum (SV °*lā vagnum*) *acha* RV SV

kalpantāmi te (TA * *me*) *dīśah sarvāh* (TA * *śāgmāh*) VS ŚB TA (both)

§236 Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense

- ulem anamnamuh* TS MS AB AŚ ApŚ MŚ: *uleva namnamuh* KB
 ŚB ŚŚ KŚ
- athem ava sya* (AV *athemam asyā*) *vara ā prthivyā* AV TS. AŚ ŚŚ MŚ
 The original is *ava sya* 'set free', AV secondarily brings in the
 familiar notion of *iyam prthivī* (in genitive form)
- tuvi-śvanasam* (TS JB *tuviṣ-manasam*) *suyajam ghṛtaśrīyam* RV TS
 JB. ŚB. MŚ The RV supports its reading by numerous instances
 of *tuvi-śvan* (-i, -as), whereas *tuviṣ-* does not occur in compounds
- viśvavidam* (AV. °vido) *vācam avīśvam-anvām* (AV. *aviśva-vannām*) RV.
 AV. The AV change is due to preceding *viśva-vido*, see Edgerton,
Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield 128
- manmā dādhyaṇā ulā nah sakhāyā* MS *anvādādhyaṇā iha nah sakhāyā*
 TB See the context, quoted VV I p 163; note that the preceding
 pāda ends in *m*
- dame-dame suṣṭutir* (AV KS °tyā, TS °tīr, MS °tī) *vāṛdhānā* (AV
 °nau, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iṇānā*) AV TS. MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ The sūtra
 texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense
 'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'
- bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣiṇca* (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ MŚ.
 The TB comm says that *im* (in *uddhara-im*) is for *imam chāndaso*
 'yam mavarnalopah The corrupt MŚ reading then seems to
 have a phonetic substitution of *v* for *m*
- vatso vrājo vṛṣabho maṭinām* AV · *pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayinām* TB
 See §359.

v and *m* in inflectional endings

- §237. Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange
 between acc sing and nom -acc dual, between nom -acc dual and gen
 plur ; between 1st person dual and plural, and so on Similar cases
 occur among corruptions of the mss , thus in Kauś 60 19 two mss
 read *manthanāṇām* for *manthanāṇv*, and in Kauś 71 1 all mss *anśo rūjā*
vibhajati māṃ agnī, where the ed emends *imām* to *imāṃ*
- ṛtena* (MG *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG. *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhī*
roha vanśa (MG *vanśah*) AV AG. ApMB HG. MG. Kauś Roth
 quotes Ppp as *sthūnā dhi*
- aya(h)sthūnam* (TS °nāv) *udīlā* (MS TS KS °lau) *sūryasya* RV TS
 MS KS For the VS ŚB form see §188
- putrah pitarāv* (AV °ram) *avṛṇīta pūṣā* RV. AV The original dual
 refers to the Aśvins, AV has a stupid simplification
- yena śrīyam* (PG *śrīyam*, ŚŚ *śrīyāv*) *akṛnutam* (PG °tām, ŚŚ *akuru-*
tam) ŚŚ PG SMB GG The ŚŚ is secondary and poor

apsarasāv anu dattām rnam yat (TB TA *ṛnāni*) AV TB TA · *apsara-sām anudattānṛnāni* MS (p p *anu, dattām, ṛnāni*) MS is hopeless, see VV I p 282

idam vatsyāvah (AG *vatsyāmo bhoh*) AG HG See VV I p 249, others on the same page and on pp 263, 276

adhr̥ṣṭam dhr̥ṣṇvojasam (SV *dhr̥ṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV SV 'Having terrible strength' 'terrible in strength'

v and *m* in noun-suffixes

§238. On this subject cf Bender, *Suffixes mant and vant*, Baltimore, 1910 The variation between *mant* and *vant* is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular, otherwise the *m* form In prehistoric times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels, cf Sturtevant, *AJP* 50 360ff, *TAPA* 60 33ff The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels, and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant* Variants occur in the readings of individual mss, thus at AV 19 42 3 *śutrāmne* for *śutrāṇne*, and at Kauś 89 1 four out of seven mss *manvabhīh* for *manmabhīh* We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation

§239. We begin with variations of *mant* and *vant* (or, once, *vin*, once, *varī*)

udyan nahṣatram arcivat (TB °*mat*) RV SV TB Note that RV also knows *arcimat*

tapur yayastu carur agnīvān (AV KS °*mān*) *va* RV AV KS N *agnīvān* is read by AVFpp; *agnimant* not in RV This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory

pūṣā jñātīmān ŚG · *pūṣā jātīvin* (read *jñātī*°) Kauś *trīṭiyasyu savanasya ṛbhumato* (ApŚ °*syarbhū*°) *brhaspativato* (KŚ °*mato*) . KŚ ApŚ MŚ The majority show *vat* after *i*

indram ādityavantram vājavantram brhaspativantram (AŚ °*vantram*) *viśvadevīvantram āvaha* KB AŚ ŚŚ Here only AŚ has *vant*,

and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmaṇa text has *mant*; *vant* may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in *vant*. But cf next

tāsv adhvarjo (ŚŚ °*yav*) . *vājavate bṛhaspativale* (ŚŚ °*male*) *viśvadevyāvate* AB AŚ. ŚŚ Here again we might suggest the surrounding *vant* forms as source of *bṛhaspati-vate*, but this time the older Brāhmaṇa text reads *-vate* Note that AŚ belongs to the school of AB., and ŚŚ. to that of KB (cf. prec), the two schools seem to have affected different forms

puṣpavatiḥ (TS V1Dh. *puṣpā°*) *prasūvarīḥ* (AV KS °*sūmatīḥ*, TS °*sūvatīḥ*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS V1Dh The original form has suffixal *varī*, fem of *van*; according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric It is replaced in later texts by the more regular *matī*, or in TS by the still irregular *vatī*, which looks like a blend of the other two

apām napād . . *kakudmān* (MS *kakubhvān*) . . TS MS. KS . *devīr āpo* . *kakunmān* . VS VSK ŚB. See §178

hranyavad annavad dhehī (ApŚ [read] *annamad dhehī*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ See AJP 27 415

tveṣam cakṣur dadhare codayanvati (RV °*matī*) RV TB ApŚ Psychologically, tho not formally, this variant belongs here, *codayan-matī* in RV is a compound with the noun *matī*. 'they made (thee, Agnī) a bright eye that inspires devotion'. Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the *v* form required after an *a*-vowel TB comm., accordingly, *vidhāyakavākyayukte* (*karmanī*).

§240. The rest concern *man* and *van* or related suffixal forms.

nṛṣadvā (SV. °*mā*) *sīdad apām upasīthe* (SV *apām vivarte*) RV SV. *sadman* (also RV.) is in the mind of SV

kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne (TB. °*mne*) RV TB N. The otherwise unquoted form of TB. plays upon *dhāman* (*sva-dhāman svadhāvan*).

ādityānām patvānv (PB °*mānv*) *ihi* (KSA.† *ehi*) VS TS MS KSA. PB ŚB TB. MŚ ApMB. Both forms are Rīgvedic; cf next

āyoh patmane svāhā KS . *āyoṣ patvane svāhā* ApŚ Cf. prec

kavīn pṛchāmi vidmane (AV *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV AV Assimilation to *vidvān* in AV

mitajñavo varimann (TB °*vann*, but Poona ed *mitajmavo varimann*) *ā pṛthivyāh* RV MS. TB *varivan* is not recorded, unless here

varṣmā (VS *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, KS *drāghvā*, MS *drāghmā*, KapS *drāghīmā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS The curious TS form seems to contain in its *u* a relic of suffixal *van*

[*āpataye tvā paripataye grhnāmi*] *tanūnaptre* (KS adds *śakmane*) *śak-varāya śakvana* (KS *śakmann*) *ojṣṭhāya* VS KS ŚB *tanūnaptre śakmane śālvarāya śakmanā ojṣṭhāya* MS *tanū° śākvarāya śakmann ojṣṭhāya* VSK In KS the stem *śakman* is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'

abhikhyā bhāsā brhatā śuśukvanīh RV *ḍṛśe* (MS *ḍṛśā*) *ca bhāsā brhatā suśukvanīh* (KS **vabhīh*, MS *suśikmanā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS form owes its *i* to dissimilation or thought of the word *śikvan* 'able' (RV), the change to *m* may be due to the feeling that *m* should occur after a non-*a* vowel

avavyayann asītam deva vasma (TB ApŚ *vasvah*) RV MS KS TB ApŚ Comm on TB explains *vasvah* as acc sing of an agent noun, *vāsavyatāram āchādakam* The form is very difficult, but one may think of *vasvah* as voc of a stem *vasvan* 'wealthy', agreeing with *deva*, in which case the accent in TB must be deleted

prathamāya januṣe bhuvaneṣṭhāh (ŚŚ *bhūma neṣṭhāh*, AŚ ed *bhūmanēṣṭhāh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Ppp has *bhūm°* The ŚŚ reading makes good sense 'thou shalt lead the world' AV^b has *bhuvaneṣṭhāh*

m and *b*

§241. The few variations of *m* and *b* are related to those of *m* and *v* thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of *b* and *v* A large number of interchanges between *mahat* and *brhat* are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical, see, provisionally, the Conc under these words

parā dehi sāmulyam (ApMB *śābalyam*) RV. AV ApMB The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone *sāmulyam*, which at least suggests *śamala* 'stain' Apparently ApMB is influenced by *śabala* 'spotted' See §607.

asambādham badhyato (many AV mss *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp **veṣu*) AV. Kauś *asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ* MS Sense and text tradition require *madhyato* The form *ba°* is probably due to assimilation to the preceding *-bādham* (so Whitney), it is in any case a corruption This is immediately followed by *yasyā udvataḥ pravataḥ samam bahu* (MS *mahat*) AV MS Synonyms, cf *brhat mahat*, referred to above But the occurrence of *b* for *m* twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments.

aīdamṛdā yavyudhah KS *aīlabṛdā* (MS *°mṛdā*, KapS *īlamṛdā*) *āyuryudhah* (TS *yavyudhah*, MS *vo yudhah*) VS TS MS The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure; Mahīdhara on VS desperately, 'bringers of food' (*bhṛtah*!)
anuṣṭub (*°tum*) *mitrasya*, see §412

m and *bh*

§242. The equally small group of *m* and *bh* variants is in general purely lexical.

indra ukthebhīr mandīṣṭhah (ŚŚ. *bhand*°) SV. ŚŚ Cf next; the roots are quasi-synonyms

dwas (*divah*) *prṣṭham* (PB *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānah* (PB *mand*°) *suman-mabhih* RV PB TA ApŚ Cf pree

tāsām īśāno bhagavah (MS *maghavan*) VS TS MS KS. Practically synonyms

sarvam tam (AV *sarvān nī*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tām*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS ŚB *masmasā*, MS *†mṛsmṛsā*, v. 1 *mṛśmṛśā*, VS *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV *-laram*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The onomatopoeic word found in various forms in the others is made into *bhasmasā*, as if 'to ashes', in VS

savitā bhṛtyām (KS *ms † manyām*) TS KS, von Schroeder emends to *bhṛtyām*

aciṣyāma (p p. *amī*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vṛjane viśva ūti* MS *· abhi ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavīrah* RV KS Corruption if not misprint

yuktās tisro vimṛjah (*vibhṛjah*) , and others, see §57

CHAPTER VII INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

§243. Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on *y* and *v*, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between *r* and *l* is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning *l* and *d* which we add at the end of the chapter.

y and *r*

§244. Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption.

dvīṣas taradhyā (ApŚ °*yaī*) *ṛṇayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV. KS AB ApŚ . *dvīṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV. Roots *īr* and *ī* (intensive), both 'go'.

śāṇḍikera (PG *śaunḍikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* PG HG. *śāṇḍerathāś śāṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB. Fanciful names of demons.

vāyosāvintra (MS *vāyusavitṛbhhyām*) *āgomugbhhyām caruḥ* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA.

saṁvalsarāya paryūyṇīm (TB *paryāṇīm*) VS TB. Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning.

ny aśvīnā hṛtsu kāmā (ApMB *kāmān*) *ayansata* (AV *araṇsata*) RV AV ApMB *ni-yam* 'settle', and *ni-ram* 'rest'.

prānasya vidvān samare na dhīrah TS MS : *yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīrah* AV. Both *samara* and *samaya* mean something like 'junction'.

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānv acāriṣam* RV VS MS KS ŚB. AŚ LŚ MŚ ApMB MG . *apo anv acāriṣam* (JB *īacāriṣam*) TS TB JB ApŚ . *apo divyā acāriṣam* AV *anu-car* 'follow after' *cāy* 'fear, revere'.

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhījāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB ApMB HG. Stonner on SMB. understands *ca ārye*, 'O lady'. Is HG. Prakritic for *ca āryo*? (cf Pali *ayyo*) One ms. of ApMB also *cāryo*. All very doubtful.

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArŚ . *yasyedam ā rajah* AA. *yasyedam oja*

ārujah ŚŚ Obscure in all ŚŚ's *ārujah* looks as if blended of *ā rajo* and *yujah*, whereas AA seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, *āra(jo-yu) jah* Or ŚŚ. may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of *r*; *ojah* vaguely = *ā(y)ujah*

gohya *ṭupagohyo marūko* (PG *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG. SMB See §81.

sadā yācann aham girā (SV *gyā*) RV SV. N. See §134

rudra yat te krayī (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) . . see §47

tām pūṣānu yachatu (AV. *pūṣābhī rakṣatu*) RV. AV. See §184

antaḥ śubhrāvātā (SV. *śundhyāvātā*) *pathā* RV. SV. See §173.

vijye *ṭvwe viḥṣipet* (p p *vi-ḥṣepe*) MS *riyre viḥṣipe vidhame* MŚ.
(Read *viḥṣipe* in MS) According to Knauer (note on MŚ) these words are vocatives of cow-names No etymology for **vijyā* or **vijrā* suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow.

vanṣṭhor hṛdayād (AV **udarād*) *adhī* RV. AV. (both) ApMB

agor arir (SV *nāgo rayir*) *ā ciketa* RV SV. Wholly different words and constructions

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā dwam*) AG PG. ApMB MG *bhūyaś* and *bhūriś* are different suffixal formations from the same root

śukram te (TA **vām*) *anyad yajatam* (TA. **raj*^o) *te* (TA. **iām*) *anyat* RV SV TS MS KS AB. KB. TA. (both) AŚ. Svidh. N. The Poona ed of TA reads *yajatam* for *raj*^o, but with *v* I *raj*^o, which the comm also reads, he has a labored and worthless explanation.

y and l

§245. Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots *yup* on the one hand, and *luh* or *lup* on the other. The two instances of *yup* *luh* have been quoted in §113, which see The other is—

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV. *ta*, MG *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV *cita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV TA. MG

y and v

§246. Both *y* and *v* appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements, among these must be included cases in which the *y* and *v* represent the vowels *i* and *u* under conditions required by morphology. There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words. Not infrequently either the *y* or *v* form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical. Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds *y* and *v* must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing *y*, such as *yin*, exchanges with one in *v*, such as *vin* (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c, Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §254.

§247. We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both *y* and *v* forms. Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal *yin* and *vin*, found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV texts, and that too so that the *v* forms occur only in Taittiriya texts, the *y* forms in those of other YV schools. We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait texts to prefer *v* in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel *u* in place of *i* (§622). The relation between *yin* and *vin* seems to be this. The *yin* forms contain really suffixal *in*, added to stems in *ā* (all the variants noted concern such stems). The *y* bridges euphonically the gap between *ā* and *i* (cf §§338ff), precisely as e.g. in aorist passives from roots ending in *ā* (*adhāy*, etc). The *vin* of Tait texts is best explained as a blend of *vant* or *van* with this *in*, e.g. *svadhā-vin*, product of *svadhā-vant* (RV) and *svadhā-van* with *svadhā-y-in*. It is therefore likely that these *vin* forms are secondary to those in *yin*. See Whitney, *Grammar* §§258a, 1230e, Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen*, *BKSGW* 65 (1913), part 3, pp 211ff, Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the *y* and *v* forms exchange at random). Besides the forms noted in the following list, note *yāyin*, *sthāyin*, *r̥ṣabha-dhāyin*, in addition to Whitney's list §1230e.

nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaś (TS °vibhyaś) *ca vo namah* VS TS

MS KS

namah śrlāyibhyo (TS °vibhyo, MS *srgāyi*°) *jghānsadbhyah* VS TS

MS KS

namo rudrāyātālāyine (TS °vine) VS TS MS KS

putāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ (TB ApŚ °vibhyaḥ) *svadhā namah* VS

KS ŚB TB. ApŚ Also with *put̥rbhyaḥ* and *praputāmahebhyaḥ*

ūrjasaṭiḥ svadhāyināḥ (TS °vinīḥ) TS KS.

§248. Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous

cases in which *y* and *v* are in some sense suffixal, it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them, also, Tait texts seem to prefer the *v* forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking

aramgamāya jagmaye (TB ApŚ *jagmave*) RV SV TB Ap, Note stem *jagmu*, otherwise unknown, in Tait texts, for regular *jagmī duvasyave* (TA. *duvasvale*) *tvā vāḍāya svāhā* MS. TA Stems *duvasyu* and *duvasvant*, but MS has *v* 1 *duvasvale*

ojasvinī nāmāsi TS ApMB *ojasvā nāmāsi* MS Again Tait texts with *v*

atharya pitum me pāhi VS ŚŚ *atharva pitum me gopāya* (AŚ *†pāhi*) TB AŚ ApŚ *atharva* looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by *atharvan*, for *atharya* (cf. RV *athari*, *atharyu*), epithet of Fire. Note *v* in Tait texts (to be sure also in AŚ)

tapatyai svāhā TS *tapatyai svāhā* KSA TA Stems *tapyalu* (RV) and *tapati* Poona ed of TA *tapyalvai*, *v* 1 *tapatyai*

ye te agne medayo (KS *°vo*) *ya indavah* TS KS. Here TS has the regular *i*-stem *medi*, while KS substitutes an otherwise unknown *medu*

punse putrāya vellavai (ŚB [so, for Conc ŚG] BrhU *viltaye*, MG *kartavai*, KS *†* and *v* 1 of MG *kartave*) KS ŚB TB BrhU. ApŚ ApMB

tvam no devatālaye (AV *deva dālave*) RV AV N See §61

śrudhi śruta śraddhivam (AV *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV AV The anomalous RV form is, as it were, explained in AV

viśvacarṣanīh sakurīh sahāvān (AV. *sahīyān*) RV. AV. MS Again AV eliminates a rare hieratic form

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (AV *baladāvā na ehi*) RV AV 'Come to me unto strength-giving' (RV *p p mā, ā, ihi*) 'come to us, giving strength'.

namo hrdayyāya (KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nveṣyāya* (KS *nveṣyāya*) *ca* TS KS: *namo nīveṣyāya* (*p p nī°*) *ca hrdayāya ca* MS *namo hrdayyāya ca nveṣyāya ca* VS Anomalous forms seemingly from *hrd* and *hrdaya* (but cf. §658), or from *hrada* (Keith, 'of the lake') Stem *hradavya* quoted Pān 6 1 83, Vārtt 2, Pat

idā manuṣvad (AV mss *manuṣyad*) *iha celayanti* RV AV VS MS KS TB N The mss reading of AV is supported by APr 4 65 (comm *manuṣyavat*) and adopted by Whitney The APr comm looks in the right direction, it is a blend of *manuṣvat* and *manuṣya-*

namah sūlāyāhanṭya (TS °hanṭyāya, MS KS °hanṭwāya) VS TS MS.

KS. *a-hanṭi*, 'not smiting' *a-hanṭya* = *a-hanṭwa* 'not to be smitten' *arāyo ṭasmān abhūduchunāyale* TB. AŚ ApŚ *arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyale* RV TAA Vait MŚ The stem *a-rāy-a* (*rai*) is bahuvrīhi, *a-rā-van* karmadhāraya. Caland would read *arāvā yo 'smān* in ApŚ, it seems indeed that the syllable *yo* is inherited from the RV. form of the pāda

vasuranvo (MahānU °nyo) *vibhūr asi* TA MahānU *ranya* is from root *raṇ*, as to *ranva* we must remember the quasi-root *ranv* (see last variant in §225). Both comms have fatuous explanations, that on MahānU divides *vasur anyo* (= *stutyah*!)

etena tvam atra śrīṣanvān (MŚ *tvam śrīṣanyām*, Conc, but Van Gelder's ed, 6 1 2, *śrīṣanyān*) *edhi* KS ApŚ MŚ The KS ApŚ reading alone makes sense 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy head' The MŚ form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a phonetic variant for °vān.

unnetar un non (read *no*) *nayonnetar vasvo abhy un nayā nah* AŚ *unnetar vaśīyo na un nayābhi* (KS *vasyo 'bhy un nayā nah*) MS KS ApŚ The AŚ form may be felt as acc pl of *Vasu* (n pr), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for *vasyo* (*vaśīyo*) 'lead us unto welfare'

§249. In a little group of three cases, AV. substitutes the more popular *varīyah* for *varvāh*, of which the *v* is certainly connected with the *u* of *uru*

asmabhyam indra varvāh (AV. *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV AV *asma-bhyam mahi varvāh sugam kah* RV

sakhā sakhībhyo varvāh (AV * *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* RV AV (both) TS KS GB Here Ppp has *varvāh*; one ms of GB *varīyah*, which, it seems, ought to be read in GB in accord with AV, unless GB quoted from Ppp

tvaṣṭā no atra varvāh (AV *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* AV TS

§250. In another small group the *y* is definitely part of a case-ending, while the *v* remains suffixal or is a stem final

yābhūr indro vāṛdhe vīryāya (AV *vīryāvān*) RV AV N 'Increased unto heroism' 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism'

gārhapatyah (ŚŚ. °iyāt) *prajāyā* (VSK *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamah* VS VSK

ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Objective gen varying with possessive adjective *prajānanam var pratiṣṭhā lōke sādhu prajāyās* (MahānU *sādhuprajāvāns*) *tantum tanvānah* TA MahānU But most mss of MahānU agree with TA, the ed follows one ms and the comm

namah śamgare (TS † *śamgāya*) *ca paśupalaye ca* VS TS MS KS.

Wackernagel, II. 1 p 315, plausibly takes *śamgāya* for *śamgayāya*.
sa ghā (TB *sadyā*, read *sa ghā* with Poona ed.) *no devah savitā sahāvā*
 (TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

§251. In alternating verbal endings the same change between *y* and *v* occurs repeatedly. It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations, see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here:

pra ślomā yanty (SV *yantu*) *agnaye* RV SV.

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted:
brahmanīd upāsvatī (MahānU *°syatī*) *tapah* TA MahānU. The reading of TA is uncertain, see VV I pp 45, 125

[*madhye pośasya* (AG *°sva*) *ṛmpatām* (MG *puśyatām*, AG *tīṣṭhantīm*)
 AG ŚG MG. For *pośasya* read *°sya* with Stenzler's Translation.]

And in different present stem-formations of verbs

manve (ArS *manye*) *vām dyāvōpṛthivī* (ArS adds *subhojasau*) AV. ArS
 Vait. See VV I p 125

§252. We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds *y* and *v* is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not). They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms *tyam* (*tyat*) and *tvam*

īam u tvam (SV *īava tyam*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV SV

tvam (KS *tyam*) *hy agne agnīnā* RV TS MS KS AB KB JB ŚB
 AŚ ŚŚ Kauś

īmam ū (MS *u*, p p *ū[m]*) *śu tvam asmākam* (TA ApŚ *tyam asma-*
bhyam) RV SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ

§253. Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root *√*go' in variation with *av*. They tend to confirm the use of *av* as a verb of motion, see Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* 123ff

āpo agre viśvam āvan AV *āpo ha yad bṛhatīr* (TS MS KS *yan mahatīr*)
viśvam (TA *garbham*) *āyan* RV VS VSK TS MS KS TA
 'Went (rushed?) into the all', AV is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal 'helped all'

atī setum durāvyam (SV *durāyyam*) RV. SV. The derivation of the RV form is uncertain, see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9 41 2. The SV form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root *√* (hard to cross')

ayebhyah (TB *ave*°) *katavam* VS TB *aya* 'dice-throws' is of course original; note that *av-* occurs in a Tait text (see §247), is it a mere phonetic variant for *ay-*? (comm 'to helpers') Tho *aya* may not be derived from root ३, the variant belongs to this group

§254. Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant In the instances first mentioned the *v* (or, once, the *y*) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable):

r̥ṣ̥inām putro abhīśastipā u (VS. ŚB °*pāvā*, TB °*pā ayam*) AV VS ŚB TB

tanūpāvānas (AV *tanūpā ye nas*) *tanvas tapojāh* (AV *tanūjāh*) AV AB
AŚ *tanūpāvan* = *tanūpā*

svarvaj (AV *svaṛ yaj*) *jyotir abhayam svasti* RV AV KB TB

satyam (SV ApŚ *sa tiam*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asī* RV SV ApŚ The RV original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic pādas

utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah (TB *incāyah*) RV MS TB N The original has *vi-ca-āvah*, *incāyah* (comm *vīṣeṣena pūjāyuktah*) is ἀ.λεγ, corrupt, and untranslatable See Kaegi, *Festgruss Roth* 159, 165

yena bhūyaś carāty (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā dīvam*) AG. PG. ApMB MG The PG reading is clearly secondary

nāras carantī svasica iṣānāh VS TS ŚB *nāvo vi yanti susico na vānīh* MS KS The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough, VS etc may have a lect fac

pīlā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA *pīlābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU See §838

praty eva (ŚŚ *pra tveva*) *gr̥bhāyata* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

§255. The rest we shall not attempt to classify; note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal *y* or *v* (tho not both) *ghṛtam ghṛtāyone* (MS *ghṛtavane*) *pība* AV VS VSK TS MS KS

ŚB AŚ ŚŚ 'Home of ghee' 'rich in ghee', *ghṛtavani* is a secondary blend of the common epithets *ghṛta-vant* and *ghṛta-yoni* (both RV)

anuvāsi (VS *anuyā*, MS *anuvāya*, GB † *Vait † ahnānsi*, em *Vait ed to anuvāsi*) *rātriyai* (VS *rātryā*, MS KS † *Vait † rātriyai*) *tvā* (VS MS omit) *rātrīm* (VS MS KS † *rātrīm*) *jinvā* VS TS MS KS *Vait* (pratika in GB) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants The lexicons take them as containing the

roots *vā* and *yā* But note that MS. presupposes a stem *anuva*, with short *a*

trātāram indram akr̥nor avadhyam (VSK *ayudhyam*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonyms; note the *u*, preserving a trace of original *v* Something like the reverse process in Pāli *avudha* = Skt. *āyudha*

āvitsi (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīh* RV VS TS MS KS Roots *ā-vid* *ā-yu* Other interchanges of *vi* *yu* in §805.

nāḍya śatrum nanu (ŚB † *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB. Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*vi* *yu*)

rāyah syāma rathyo vayasvatāh (TB. *vivasvatah*) RV MS TB The startling change in TB is probably suggested by *su-yamasya* in the prec pāda Vivasvant goes well with Yama!

śamgayā (MS ŚB. °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīvadān*?) MS ŚB. TB AŚ ŚŚ *gaya* 'chattels' *go* 'cow'

somī ghōṣena yachatu (SV *vakṣatu*) RV SV Substantially synonyms *spardhante dhīyah* (TS KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA † *sūryena*) *viśah* RV SV TS KSA See §109

sarāsvatyai yāśobhagimya (KS *veśabha*°) *svāhā* VS KS

bṛhann asi bṛhadravā (TS KS °*dgrāvā*, MS °*drāyāh*, MŚ °*drāyah*)

VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The Maitr texts obviously secondary *malmalābhavantīm tvā* (N °*tūlyā*, corrupt) *sādayāmi* TS MS KS TA N *rudra yat te krayī* (*kravi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) see §47

dhuñkṣāgneyī (VSK vv II *dhuñkṣyā*° and *dhuñkṣvā*°) VS VSK MS. *agnaye dhuñkṣnā* (KSA ° *ṣā*) TS KSA Wholly obscure words

nīkṛya (MŚ *nigṛya*) *tubhyam abhya āsam* (ApŚ *tubhyam madhye*, MŚ *tubhyam madhvah*) Vait ApŚ MŚ *nigṛya sarvā ādhīh* KŚ A desperate passage, see §47

duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣyaha TA Bibl Ind, *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA Poona ed, text and comm *duḥsvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU. Comm on TA *duruṣṣaha duḥkham utkarṣenābhībhava*, comm on MahānU *duruṣṣahā tvam, duṣṭam uṣvam* (!) *dāham hanti*. The word seems to be *durasyuḥa* (°*hā*) 'killing him who plans evil (*durasyu*)'

aśvān'anaśśato (KS † ApŚ *anaśyato*, MŚ Van Gelder *anaśvato*, without v I) *dānam* KS TA ApŚ MŚ Poona ed of TA reads *anahśato*, v I *anaśyato*, the comm. *ayahśaphān*, with v I *anaśato* Obscure *revotī ramadhvam* (MS * °*tīr amedhyam*) VS TS MS (both) KS The variant of MS is corrupt, see *AJP* 27 403 But the reading of the ed is an emendation, mss °*ramadhyam*

ayuktāso abrahmatā vīdasāma (RV *yad asan*) RV VS ŚB *vi-dasāma*, taken by Mahīdhara as from *vi + das* 'fail'

y and h

§256. A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of easy lexical substitutions or corruptions Cf Weber, *ISl* 4 224

dyutāno vājībhūr yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV

sam sravanṭu dīso mahīh (HG *mayi*) ApMB HG

endram vagnūnā vahata PB *vagnunendram hwayata* TB ApŚ Note the metathesis of *h* from the beginning of the original *hwayata* to the middle in *vahata* PB comm glosses *āhvayata*

yamār yamasya bibhryād (AV *vīrṇhād*) *ajām* RV AV See §222

taṁ ahaṁ punar ādade KŚ PG *imam taṁ punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham) HG (plainly corrupt)

hīnṡāno hetrbhūr yatah (SV *hitah*) RV SV

snuṣa sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text *°nāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ 'ham asma) TB AŚ

r and l

§257. Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely phonetic, the same word is spelled with *r* or *l*. The number in which lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible. While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle, they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the whole, been fairly well recognized.

§258. There is a tendency towards *l* noticeable in younger and less hieratic texts. The RV, especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked fondness for *r*. In the RV itself are found doublets such as the roots *pru plu*, *mruc mluc*, *car cal*, *pruṣ pluṣ*, the words *puru pulu*, *aram alaham* [despite Wust, in *Ehrendgebe W Geiger* 185ff, which does not convince me—F E], *sahamūra sahamūla*, and the intensive stems *jargur jalgul*. Such instability continues after the Mantra period thru the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects, until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, *l* stands for any and every *r*. The reverse is also found, tho only sporadically in the Prakrit dialects recorded Pischel §259, and cf Wackernagel I p 215f, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collatz* 30f. This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and thruout the Vedic period, not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the ms readings of one and the same text.

§259. The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts. A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel: MS 3. 7. 9 has *āṣvāvāra* and *āṣvāvāra* against *āṣvāvāla* and *āṣ°* in the corresponding passages of KS 24.8 and KapS 38.1 (see Von Schroeder, MS, p. xv). PG 1. 15. 4 has *grapsa* 'tuft of grass' for AG 1. 14. 4 *glāpsa* (GG. 2. 7. 4 *grathna*). The variant *pleñgha* for *preñkha* 'swing' occurs in ApDh. 1. 11. 31. 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots *jvar* and *jval* figure on the same page of the Kathāsaritsūgarā (5. 118, 122). In Aufrecht's edition of AB., p. 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* for more usual *l* (*urūka*, *bahura*, etc.). Such a thing is not surprising in a R̥gvedic Brāhmaṇa; and certainly AB's *bahura* goes RV one better, for that form is unknown in RV., where *bahula* is common. In fact, the AB passage in question, 2. 20. 14 (also in AŚ 5. 1. 15), containing *bahuramadhya*, imitates RV. 10. 42. 8, which contains *bahulāntāsa(h)*.—The statement was made by Von Schroeder, ZDMG 33. 196, that MS has a general preference for *l* over *r*. But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text; we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for *l* in MS. While Matr. texts sometimes show *l* for *r* of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the *l* form is more usual thruout the language generally. Per contra, note MS *āṣvāvāra* above in this section, and *kharvāś* (to be sure with *v* *l* *khal°*), the only recorded occurrence of this word with *r* (§265).

§260. The very small group of lexical variants is now given first, one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt.

te no 'gnayah paprayah pārayantu (MŚ MG. *pāla°*) TS TB PB ApMB MŚ PG MG. The two words are practically synonyms, tho unrelated, both mean in effect 'preserve'. Note the adjacent *paprayah*, related to *pārayantu*.

adhī śkanda (Ppp *kranda*) *vīrayasva* AV. *abhi kranda vilayasva* ŚG. 'Play the hero'. 'be strong' (*vīl°* for *vid°*). See §272.

dhik tvā jāram parasya janasya nirmārymi . . MŚ. *dhik tvā jālmī* . . LŚ. The words are quite different in meaning and construction.

mā rudrīyāso abhi gur irdhānah (MS. *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS TA. *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ. See §209 *gulbadhānah* is not divided in p p, it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for *gur* (etc.) = *guh*, 3 pl aorist

§261. The rest are all purely phonetic in character. We begin with a group in which *r* is regular in RV, but *l* is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The *r* forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV, or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like *bahura* in AB (§259).

asrīrā (AV ApMB *asīlā*) *tanūr bhavati* RV AV ApMB. The *r* form is not recorded outside of RV, which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word *śrī*. For this the suffix *ra* is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining *r* to *l*.

asrīram (TB † *asīlām*, both edd.) *ai kṛnuthā* (TB † **thāt*, comm. and Poona ed. text **thā*) *supratīkam* RV AV TB.

samūdham (VSK *samūlham*) *asya pānsure* (SV **le*) RV AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB N. The *l* form is regular after RV, the *r* form in RV only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts. *mā tad bhūmyām ā śṛṣan* (VSK v l *śṛṣan*) *mā tṛṇeṣu* RV VS VSK TS MS KSA. Cf. *aśleṣā* (*āśreṣā*) below, §265.

andhāhīn (TS **he*, KSA. **heh*, em., ms **he*) *sthūragudayā* (TS KSA **gudā*, VS *sthūlagudayā*, and so MS p p) VS TS MS KSA. The RV knows only *sthūra*, but *sthūla* is regular later (cf. however *sthavira*).

anu no mārṣtu (VS TS ŚB TA *anu mārṣtu*) *tanvo yad viriṣṭam* (VS TS KS † ŚB TA ŚŚ *virṣṭam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ. *riṣ* is Rigvedic, rare later.

cappam (TB Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyur bhīṣag asya vālah* (KS *vārah*, TB *bālah*, Poona ed. *vālah*) VS MS KS TB. The *r* form is almost limited to RV, cf. however *aśvavāra* in MS, §259.

devānśo yasmar tvede tat satyam upariṣrutā (ApŚ *aparīṣrutā*) *bhañgena* (ApŚ *bhañgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ. The root is commonly *pru* in RV, only very rarely so later.

aślonā (comm. *aśronā*) *añgair ahrutāh svarge* AV *aślonāñgair ahrutā* (read *ahrutāh* or **tā* with Poona ed.) *svarge* TA. *śrona* chiefly RV.

§262. Next, a group concerning words in which both *r* and *l* are common in most periods of the language, but RV as a rule has *r* almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV goes RV one better in its hieratic *r*, but both RV passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root *rabh* *labh*, which in RV always has *r* except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later.

utālabdham (AV. *utārabdhān*, Ppp *utāl°*) *spṛnuhī jātavedah*; followed by:
ālebhānād rṣṭibhīr yātudhānāl (AV. *utārebhānān rṣ° yātudhānān*) RV. AV.

The AV. is secondary and corrupt in its construction, see Whitney's note

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern *śukla* and *śukra*, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV. Another concerns *rohita lohita*, of which again RV. has only the *r* form. The case of *kṣudra kṣulla*, where the *l* form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole

śukrāya svāhā VS MS ŚB · *śuklāya svāhā* VS MS.

peṣo na śukram (KS TB *śuklam*) *asulam* (MS samh. mss *aś°*) *vasāte*
 VS MS KS TB

varunāya rājñe trayo rohitalalāmāh (TS † misprinted *rohito-la°*, KSA. *lohita°*) TS KSA

atho ye kṣullakā va AV. *hatah kṛmīnāṃ kṣudrakah* SMB. *atho śhūrā*
atho kṣudrāh TA (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives).

§263. Next, words in which *r* forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the *l* forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b) In this group might perhaps have been placed *gulbadhānah* of MS, see §260

asya kurmo (RVKh *kuḷmo*, AVPpp ms *kṛvo*) *harivo medinam tvā*
 RVKh TS TB AVPpp (Barret, JAS 37. 263f.): *asmāḥam*
abhūr haryaśva medī AV *īha kṛmo harivo medinam tvā* KS.
 Scheftelowitz p 112 reads for RVKh *īha kurmo ha° vedinam tvā*
 But his *kurmo* is an emendation of a ms reading *kuḷso*, which is probably a graphic corruption for *kuḷmo*

upapṛavada (RVKh *upapla°*) *mandūkī* RVKh AV N Again Scheftelowitz reads *upapra°* in RVKh, this time with his ms The form intended is *upa-pṛa-vada*, cf *ā-vada* in next pāda The reading with *pla*, if it is anything more than a ms corruption, is mechanically assimilated to *plavasva* in the second half stanza

anīrīkṣam purīlatā (TS *purī°*, MS *pūḷ°*, KSA *pulī°*) VS VSK TS
 MS KSA The *r* forms are commoner

salatam tu śīrābhī tu MahānU *samtatam śīrābhī* (Poona ed *śīl°*, but *v l* and comm *śīr°*, gloss *nadībhīh*) *tu* TA No *l* form of this word is otherwise recorded

§264. Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare Here, first, eight passages containing *saṛva* or *sahla* 'ocean' That MS invariably has *sahla*

cannot be considered significant (cf §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV; neither RV nor AV knows *sarira*, which is practically restricted to YV texts and, along with many other *r* forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism.

aśvam jajñānam sarīrasya (MS *sahlasya*) *madhye* VS TS MS KS ŚB
prapīnam (MŚ v 1 °*lam*) *agne sarīrasya* (MŚ *sahlasya*) *madhye* VS
 KS MŚ · *prapyātām* etc TS ApŚ

vibhrājamānah sarīrasya (MS *sahlasya*) *madhye* (TA °*yāt*) VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TA

vyacyamānam sahlasya (VS KS ŚB *sarīrasya*, TS TA *bhūvanasya*)
madhye AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TA

sarīram chandah VS KS ŚB *sahlam ch°* TS MS

sarīrāya svāhā VS · *sahilāya tvā* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ *sahilāya svāhā*
 ŚB

sarīrāya (MS TA *sahilāya*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* VS MS ŚB TA

sarīre tvā sadane sādāyām VS KS ŚB *sahile* etc MS *sahile sadane*
sāda TA

§265. The rest are miscellaneous

kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāte (MS *lalāte*) *purastāt* VS MS The *l* form is commoner.

aśleṣā (TS *āsreṣā*) *naḥsatram* TS MS KS In MS *p p aśl°*; KS may intend either *a-* or *ā-* The word regularly has *l* Cf. *mā tad bhūmyām* etc, §261

adhoraṃa (HG. text *atho°*) *ulumbalah* (HG *ṭulumbarah*) ApMB HG The word (usually *udum°*, probably related to *udumbara*, *ud°* 'fig-tree') appears in RV AV etc, always with *l* in the last syllable, except here in HG, which may show dissimilation to preceding *l* Cf §273.

mudgās ca me khalvās (MS *kharvās*, v 1 *khal°*) *ca me* TS MS KS A kind of grain, the *r* form not found elsewhere Note that it occurs in MS (cf §259)

achalābhūh (KSA °*rābhūh*, MS [*m*] *atsarābhūh*, VS *ṛkṣalābhūh*) *kapīñjalān* VS TS MS. KSA See §184

r and *v*

§266. These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning *r* and *v* and *h*, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions

(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word *jīra-dānu* is twice replaced by *jīra-dānu* at a time when the former is no longer understood: *udādāya prthivīm jīradānum* (TS TB ApS °nuh; VS ŠB *jīradānum*)

VS. TS MS. KS ŠB TB ApS

śamgayī (TB °ye, MS ŠB °gavī) *jīradānū* (ŠB *jīva°*) MS ŠB TB. AŠ ŠŠ

§267. The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings:

avakrakṣinam vṛṣabham yathājuram (SV *yathā juvam*) RV. AV. SV. 'Ageless' 'swift'

ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā rīśāntām (KSA *vś°*) RV TS KSA † 'Grazed on': 'enter', the latter an evident lect. fac

purū relo dadhre sūryasvatah (AV °śritah) RV. AV KS. The AV is secondary and not very intelligent, 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-resorting' is original. Yet KapS (see note on KS) has °śritah, evidently intending °śritah

rudra yat te krayā (*krvī, kravī, giri-*) . see §47

pāthi priyam ripo (and *rupo*) *agram padam veh* RV. (bis). *pāthi agnir vipo agram padam veh* ArS

dūredr̥ṣam gr̥hapatīr atharyum (SV *atharyum*) RV. SV KS. ApS MŠ. N. The SV form is desperate. Benfey suggests *atharv-yum* with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff). In some way the *v* of *atharvan* seems to be concerned.

aśvinā gharman pātām hārdvānam (TA *hārdvānam*, read *hārdī°* with Poona ed; LŠ *pātām aharvyānam*, MS *pibatām hārdvānam*) VS. MS ŠB TA ŠŠ LŠ. The MS corruptly mouths over an obscure form. Note that the *v* of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel *u*

hūtvī (SV *hūtvā*) *śiro jīhvayā vāvaduc* (SV *rārapac*) carat RV. SV.

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu samibharatām (MŠ °relām, AŠ corruptly °bhavatām) TB AŠ ApS MŠ

rathe akṣeṣu vṛṣabhasya (KS TB °ṣu vṛ°) *vāje* AV KS TB *ratheṣu akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāh* ViDh. See §359

mśravāsasah kauberakāh ApMB *lauberalā viśvavāsah* HG.

āyurdā (*āyusmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*haviṣā*, °ṣo) *vṛnānah* (etc.), see §854

asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣu ā*) RV SV VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso* † *vatā haveṣu* AV

varunāya rīśādase (KSA *vidase*) TS KSA. So the ms of KSA: but von Schroeder emends to *rīśādase*.

§268. In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned
ugram oṣiṣṭham tavasam (SV *tarasam*) *tarasvinam* RV AV SV Assimilation to *tarasvinam* in SV
vātajavair (HG *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavarh* MS HG Either assimilation in MS, or avoidance by dissimilation in HG or the banal sequence *vātajavair manojavarh* Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS is secondary
dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyulaś cyāvayiṣnuh* AV The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to *cyāv°* after *acyutah*, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in the Veda (e.g. *ajuryam jarayantam*, RV 2 16 1).

r or *v* and *h*

§269. These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance; cf §266

aredatā (KS * *ahed°*, so ed, but ms *īdatā*, read probably *ared°* with *v* Schr on KS 32 3, n 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*, TS *manasā tac chakeyam*) TS MS KS ApŚ *ahedatā* (ŚŚ *ahel°*) *manasedam juṣasva* AŚ ŚŚ The root *red* in Naigh 2 12 is followed immediately by *hed* in a list of ten words for 'be angry'
sahamānā sahasvatī (PG *sarasvatī*) PG ApMB HG *sarasvatī* is a blunder

īam tvā bhrātarah suvṛdhā (ApMB *°dho*, HG *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG See §109

tā (tāv) ehi (*eha, iha*, MG *eva*) , see §§578, 888

sa ghā (TB *sadyā*, Poona ed *sa ghā*) *no devah savitā sahāvā* (TB *savāya*) RV MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

l and *d*

§270. It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every *d* and *dh* between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bāskala recensions of the RV to *l* and *lh* This variation is ignored in the Conc, because it is carried out with mechanical completeness Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental *l* and *lh* in later Vedic texts, Wackernagel I §194 This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completeness as in RV, in two texts, VSK and ŚŚ, and also in the twentieth book of AV These cases are recorded in the Conc, but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK and ŚŚ alone Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically.

It is clear that ms. tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercised their discretion to some extent. Thus N. seems to intend to write *l* thruout. In the following list all the variants with *l* in AV. occur in Book 20 and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV. in those parts of AV. 20.

§271. The list follows:

idāsmān anu iastām ghṛtena ApŚ MS. *idañāsmān* (RVKh. *ilaiva vām*) anu iastām *rratena* RVKh. AV. Vait But Scheftelowitz reads *idaua* . . *ghṛtena* for RVKh.

aidamṛdā yaryudhah KS : *ailabṛdā* (MS. °*mrdā*, KapŚ *ilarṛdā*) *āyuryudhah* (TS *yaryudhah* MS. *io yudhah*) VS TS. MS. See §241 *ādityā rudrā iasavas itelate* (AB *itel°*, for *ted°*, GB. Gacstra *ṭiennte*, with all mss.) AV AB GB. JB ŚŚ.

aṣṭrām tādām pratīnāhā (ApŚ † *tūlam pratīnāham*) MS ApŚ.

yad devī devahedanam (VSK TA *°*helanam*, but TA. Poona ed both times °*hel°*, with v. l. °*hed°*) AV. VS. VSK MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. (bis) Vait ApŚ MS Kauś. BDh GDh.

nahy anyam badākaram (AA. *balñ°*) RV AA. AŚ. But Keith reads AA. *balñ°* (as is read in RV)

aśrathnan dydhārradanta viditā RV.: *arradanta vilitā* (fragment) N. *indraś ca mṛdayātī* (AV. ŚG. *mṛl°*) *nah* RV. AV. ŚG.

ide (ŚŚ VHDh *ile*) *dyāvāprthuī pūracittaye* RV. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MS. VHDh.

idenyo (AV. ŚŚ. Vait *ilenyo*) *namasyah* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait *kṛīdanlau* (N. *kṛīl°*) *putrair naptṛbhīh* RV. AV. N.

yad vidāv (AV. *vilāv*) *indra yat sthure* RV. AV. SV. Svidh.

vidu (AV. Vait *vīlu*) *cid ārujatnubhīh* RV. AV. SV. Vait.

vīhi sūra (TB *sūra*) *purodāśam* (AV. °*lāśam*) RV. AV. KS. TB. N.

vauṣaṭ (ŚBK ŚŚ. *vauṣaṭ*) AB. GB. ŚB. ŚBK. ŚŚ. Vait MS. ApŚ.

vy ānaḍ (AV. *ānaḥ*) *indrah pṛtanāh svojāh* RV. AV.

d and *r*

§272. The same change occurs sporadically also between *d* and *r*. Twice this concerns the word *idā*, *ilā*, or *irā*; the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf also *ahar dvābhir ūtibhīh*, §360; here MS. has (for *ahar*) *vahad* (cf next §), but one ms. *lahad* and p p. *vahaṭ*.

irāvati (KS *idā°*) *dhenumatī hi bhūtam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ ApŚ. MS

ida (ŚŚ *ila*, MS MS *idā*, ApŚ. * *ira*, in the same passage with **ida*) *ehi* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. (both) MS

aṛnhasva vīdayasva (MS *vīr*^o) *su* TS MS *adhiskanda vīrayasva* AV ,
abhi kranda vīlayasva ŚG See §260
vīruc chapathayopanī AV . *vīdu chapathajambhanī* ApŚ The latter
 is a clear corruption of the AV. reading, which Caland adopts
varenyakratūr (AV *°tur*, ApŚ *idenya*^o) *aham* RVKh AV. ApŚ . *vīren-*
yah kratur indrah suśastih RV. See §§383, 554

d and *r*

§272a. On this subject see Hanns Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in GGA 1931 236ff, especially 239f, and his article in *Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 136f. He refers to Patañjali (Introd to Mahābhāṣya, on Vārtt 9, p 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations *yavānas*, *lavānas*, for *yadvānas*, *ladvānas*; and to Wackernagel I p 212. Oertel would see in such variations as *nātārīd* (TB *°rīr*) *asya samyām iadhānām* (TB *ba*^o) RV TB, where a difficult 2d person sing is substituted for a 3d person (cf VV I p 237), traces of this phonetic tendency. (Cf. ChU. 4. 1 2 *pradhākṣīr* for *°ṣīd*, Oertel, *ll cc*) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passim, especially p. 195f.). Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in ZII 8 289f.) are:

mayī rāyo mayī rakṣah MS. 4 9 13 134 5, for which the Conc suggests *dakṣah* for *rakṣah*. *mayī dakṣakratū* TS †2 5 2 4, ApŚ AG HG .
mayī dahṣo mayī kratuh VS MS ŚB TB. TA ŚŚ

na me tad upadambhiṣar dhṛṣur brahmā yad dadau MS (originally *°dambhiṣad ṛṣur*^o, Caland, ZDMG 72 10 *infra*) *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udambhiṣag*) *ṛṣur brahmā yad dade* ApŚ (bis) Here the ApŚ form seems to stand for *upadambhiṣad*, with final *g* for *d* (= *k* for *t*), see our §142

yadā rāghaṇī varadah Vait.: *yadā rākhātya* *vadatah* ApŚ *yad adyārā-dhyam vadantah* MS See §70

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following:
ahar (MS *iahad*) *duābhir* (MS *divyābhir*) *ūtībhih* VS MS. ŚB TA ŚŚ
 LŚ One ms and p p of MS *vahad* (*vahat*), see §360, and the preceding §272 The MS is secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic

dadhir (SV. *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayānsi* RV SV.

balim ichanto vitudasya (AG *vi tu tasya*, v 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (Ma-hānU AG *preṣhāh*) TAA MahānU: AG See §65

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ. °yay) *ṛnayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV. SV. KS
 AB ApŚ *dviṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase* AV

l and d and n

§273. By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which *l* varies with lingual *n* and with dental *d*; these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding (A couple of variations between *l* and dental *n* might perhaps also be recorded here, but because of the ease of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q.v.) In two contiguous passages *hariknikā*, fem of the color-adjective *harita*, is changed in ŚŚ to *hariklikā*, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding *r*, but the characters are graphically much alike.

tāsām ekā hariknikā (ŚŚ °likā) AV ŚŚ

hariknike (ŚŚ °likhe) *kim ichasī* AV ŚŚ

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between *d* and *l*:
urūnasāv (TA. *uru*°) *asutṛpā* (AV TA °pāv) *udumbalau* (TA *ulum*°)

RV AV. TA AŚ See Lanman apud Whitney AV. The TA. comm., fatuously, *prabhūtabalayuktau* (as if *uru-bala*!). See *adhorāma* etc., §265.

nī nīvarlana varlayendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB.

Both ᳚π. λει; obscure epithets of Indra KS looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary.

CHAPTER VIII THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as *koṣa koṣa* (cf §289, end), *śrambh śrambh*, are really never determined, and even so clear a root as *sru* 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become *śru*, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13 cxvii ff, Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p lx, Winternitz, *Introduction to ApMB*, xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements.

ś and s

§275. We begin with purely phonetic interchanges, and first those in which ś takes the place of regular or etymological s. In a number of cases the root *sru*, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as *śru*, the *Pet Lex* goes so far as to postulate a collateral root *śru* in that sense *śam yor abhi sravantu* (MŚ *śra*°) *nah RV AV SV VS KS TB TA*.

ApŚ MŚ HG. So Conc from Knauer's report of mss, but V₂₁

Gelder's ed reads *sra*° for MŚ without v l

vi srutayo (AŚ *visru*°, ŚŚ *viśru*°) *yathā pathah SV. AŚ ŚŚ*. One ms of ŚŚ *visru*°

dadhi mantham paśrutam (ŚŚ *manthām paśrutam*, one ms °*śrutam*) AV ŚŚ

ā tvā paśrutah (MG °*śṛtah*, mss °*śṛtam*, AG °*śrutah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °*āh*) AG PG ApMB MĜ *emām* (ŚG *enam*) *paśrutah kumbhah* (ŚG *kumbhyā*) AV ŚG —AVPpp *ā tvā paśṛtah*, for which Barret *JAOS* 32 366 °*śrutah*. The readings of AG MG, tho certainly secondary, make sense.

pratyañ (VS TS ŚB * TB °*yañ*, MS †* and KS v l °*yak*) *soma atidrutah* (AV text *ati hrutah*, VS †* MS *atīsrutah*, KS v l °*śrutah*) AV VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ. The true reading of AV is °*drutah*; see Whitney's note.

§276. The small words *śam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally, see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *śam* is original or both are justified.

śam ūdho romaśam hatah ApMB: *sam ūdho romaśam hatah* RV.

Comm on ApMB takes *śam* as 'Vedic' for *sam*; see Winternitz, p

xx

§277. The rest are sporadic.

indrāya tvā śrmo 'dadāt' (ŚG *śramo dadāt*) MS ŚG MŚ SMB *Śrma* is a name of an Asura; in the adjoining Brāhmaṇa of MS it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to *Śrma*, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth; cf *Srpa*, *Śmāra*, and *Srmala*, names of Asuras (Harivaṇśa, see Pet. Lex) ŚG. has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gebe dich die Ermüdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle

āstām jālma (KS *jālma*) *udaram śraṇśayitvā* (KS *sraṇs*^o) AV KS. Both edd of AV. read thus, some mss *śraṇs*^o and some *sraṇs*, none the 'correct' *sraṇs*^o

śam te hranyam śam u santv (ApMB *sam u śantv*) āpah AV. Kauś ApMB Metathesis of *ś* and *s* in ApMB, see Winternitz, p xvi *somaś caturakṣarasāyāsrivir* (MS *śrivir*) *nakṣatrāṇi* MS. KS A rare word, which however seems always to be written *asriri* except here in MS

peśo na śukram (KS TB *śuklam*) *asitam* (MS all saṁhitā mss *aśitam*, ed. em *asitam* with p p) *vasāte* VS. MS. KS TB.

ā śrīṇah śamopyāt AV., comm. and Ppp *samopyāt*, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney. Cf however Bloomfield, SBE 42 255 (*keśam opyāt*?)

śvāvṛt tat HG Kirste suggests *sv-āvṛt*; the context gives no help in interpretation

madhu vanśiṣṭiya AV Read *vanś*^o cf JAOS 13 cxviii, and Whitney on AV. 9 1 14.

§278. In the following *s* takes the place of regular or etymological *ś*

śam te hranyam śam u santv (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) āpah AV. Kauś ApMB See §277, and for other *sam*: *śam*, §§276, 280

[*agnim ca vīśvaśambhuvam* RV † AV † KS TB †. ApŚ. †. No variant; correct Conc]

śimāh (VS *simāh*) *kṛnavantu* (VS * *śamyantu*) *śimyanthah* (VS. *śamyantih*) VS TS KSA † The word can only be a form from *śim* = *śam*,

- occurring in the same pāda, is the *s* of VS due to dissimilation?
 Mahidhara = *śīmāh*, glossed *rekhāh* or *maryādāh*
parnaśado (ŚŚ °*śado*) *jaritah* (AV Vait. °*dah*, om *jar*°) AV AŚ ŚŚ
 Vait Original certainly *śad-*, 'the fall of a leaf' ŚŚ possibly
 understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root *sad*)
viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve (KS *śūrāh*, ApŚ *sūrāh*) AV KS ApŚ
 The latter can only intend *śūrāh* Other cases of these two words,
 capable of lexical explanation, §284
yam eva vidyāh śucim (VāDh *sucim*) *apramattam* VīDh VāDh N
śukeṣu me (AV *sukeṣu te*) *harimānam* RV AV TB ApŚ 3 of SPP's
 mss, comm, and Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 228) read *śukeṣu*
mṛgasya śṛtam (HG. *śṛtam*) *akṣnayā* ApMB HG (vv II *śrutam* and
śrutam in ApMB) Kirste says 'probably *śṛtam*'. More likely
śrutam is intended in both texts It is a question of ill-omened
 sounds (*śakunai ruditam ca yat* is the preceding pāda of HG)
 'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss' For *śru*
sru cf §§275, 283
pred u harivah śrutasya (SV *sutasya*) RV SV TS The word refers to
 Indra, SV is perhaps thinking of Soma Benfey abandons it
 and translates the RV
namah śaṣpiṇjarāya (TS *sasp*°) *tvīṣimate* VS TS MS †KS See next
ye vaneṣu śaṣpiṇjarāh KS *ye vṛkṣeṣu śaṣpiṇjarāh* (TS *sasp*°) VS TS
 MS MG See prec Except in TS the word is always written
śaṣp°, and it is doubtless connected with *śaṣpa* (with haplology,
 Wackernagel I p 279). Perhaps TS gets its *s* by confusion with
sasya 'grain', which is itself sometimes written *śasya*, cf Wacker-
 nagel I c, Keith on TS
yā na ūrū uśatī vīśrayāte (AV °*ti*, ApMB HG *vīśrayātai*) RV AV
 ApMB HG Comm on ApMB, *śakārasya śakārah*, cf Winter-
 nitz p xvi
krīdī (VSK °*ti*) *ca śākī corjyeṣī* (ApŚ *sākī* †*corjyeṣī*, v I °*jīṣī*, *ca*) VS
 VSK. ApŚ Name or epithet of one of the Maruts Doubtless
 'mighty', root *śak*, so Mahidhara, and *sākī* seems incapable of other
 interpretation
jīmūlān hrdayaupasābhyām (VS °*śena*, VSK v I °*śena*) VS VSK TS
 MS KSA
na jyotiṣi cakāsatī Suparn *jyotiṣam na prakāśate* RVKh
trīṣṭam pṛīṣṭam asyate AV 5 19 5b Whitney accepts Zimmer's emenda-
 tion *āsyaṭe*
yad asravan paśava udyamānam AV 7 66 1 Read or understand
asravan with SPP, comm, and Whitney

sarau parnam wādadhat AV 5 25 1 Read or understand *śarau* with Whitney.

§279. In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original

rkṣo jatūh suṣīlikā (MS *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS MS The p p of MS reads *suṣīlikeli suṣi-likā*, suggesting that VS has the true reading But *śuśulūkā* occurs once in RV Both meaning and original form are obscure, folk-etymology may have been at work; Sāyana thinks of *śiśu* and *ulūka*, in RV. it is associated with *ulūka*.

grāmyamañlīradāśakau ApŚ *grāmyam mañgīradāśakau* MŚ *vyāghram mañgīradāśa gauh* Vait Obscure proper names, see §49

§280. In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation, tho they seem to us too faint to be important While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups, it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms Thus the words *sam* and *śam* each make sense in these passages, cf §§276, 278: *śam abdhyaḥ* TS MS ApŚ MŚ *sam adbhyaḥ* (supplying *śundhasva* from the preceding) KS

mandūkyā su sam ṭgamah (TA *gamaya*) RV TA . *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily.

yat ta āsthitum śam u tat te astu TB *yat te viriṣṭam sam u tat ta elat* Vait 'That shall be all right for thee'. 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'

§281. When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer Thus in three cases of the roots *sam-vas* and *sam-viś*, which are practically synonyms, we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments.

teṣv aham sumanāh sam viśāmi (AŚ *viśāti*, for °*ni*; MG *vasāma*) AŚ.

ApŚ HG ApMB MG See Knauer's note on MG

amāvāsyē samvasanto (MŚ °*viśanto*) *mahitvā* AV TS MŚ

tasyām devā adhīsamvasantah TS TB *tasyām devaḥ samvasanto mahitvā* AV *tayor devā adhīsamvasantah* ApŚ *yasyām* (v 1 *asyām*) *devā abhi samviśantah* MŚ

§282. The root *ās* 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of *aś* 'attain'; they are practically synonyms in these passages The *ās* forms all occur in RV., the *aś* forms in SV, which is contaminated from such expressions as *barhīr āśāte* RV 8 31 6 and 1 144 6: *sahasrasthūna āśāte* (SV *āś*°) RV SV.

samīcīnāsa āsale (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV

yatrāmṛtāsa āsale (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV.

§283. The particle *su* varies with the reduplicating syllable *śu*; in the first variant also the roots *sru* and *śru*, cf. §§275, 278.

ṛṇcal.śāh soma uta suśrug (comm. and Poona ed text *śuśrug*) *astu* TB · *sucak.śāh soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ See §145 *sasrud* is an em for mss *sasrad*, *saśrud*, *suśud*; Conc suggests *suśrud*, but *sasrut* occurs in RV., and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing'. Perhaps *susrut* should be read in MŚ

dr̥se ca (MS *dr̥śā ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā bṛhatā suśukvanih* (RV. *śuś*°, KS. *suśuktabhīh*, MS *suśikmanā*) RV VS. TS MS KS ŚB See §240.

§284. The words *sūra* and *śūra* interchange twice; cf. *viśve devā* etc., §278:

śūro (TB *sūro*) *na mitrāvarunā gaviṣṭiṣu* RV. TB The Maruts yoke their chariots in battle 'like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his chariot)'.
vīhi śūra (TB *sūra*) *purodāśam* (AV. *°lāśam*) RV AV KS TB. N. The original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero', TB transfers it to an address to the sun

§285. The word *sarva* varies a number of times with various words in ś, some of them rather remote in form:

sarvataḥ śarvaśarvebhyaḥ (TA *śarva sar*°; some mss add *sarvaśarvebhyaḥ*, MahānU *sarva sarvebhyaḥ*) MS TA MahānU Sc *namaḥ*· 'homage to every Śarva', or 'homage, O Śarva (or, O All [comm on MahānU *sarvātmaḥ*]), to all (the Rudras)'. MS has v l *śarvataḥ* for *sa. vataḥ* Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two sounds; despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally phonetic.

sarvān agnīn (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuśado huve vah* (MS *huve*, AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS AP.

lalpanām te (TA. **me*) *dīśaḥ sarvāḥ* (TA **śagmāḥ*) VS ŚB TA (both) *viśve devā nātividhyantu sarve* (KS. *śūrāḥ*, ApŚ *sūrāḥ*) AV KS ApŚ See §278

§286. The root *sūd* varies with *śudh* and *śubh*, cf. §174. and note AV *radantam śuddham uddharet* AV. 20 136 16d, where *śuddham* is based on mss readings *sudam* and *sunam* (Index Verborum)

asūśudānta (MS KS *aśūśubhānta*) *yajñīyā rtena* TS MS KS TB *āpo asmān* (MS *mā*) *mātarāḥ śundhayanu* (TS ApŚ *śundhantu*, AV MS KS *sūdayantu*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB AS ApŚ

§287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question:

yena śrīyam (PG *śrīyam*) *akṛṇudam* (PG **lām*, ŚŚ *śrīyāv akurutam*)

ŚŚ SMB PG GG *śrī* is certainly original

śumbhānas (KS *slam*^o) *tanvam* (TB *tanuvam*, SV *†tanvām*) *svām* RV.

SV MS KS TB

svām tanvam (TS TB *tanuvam*) *varuno 'suṣot* (TS TB *aśisret*) TS MS

KS TB 'Enhvened' 'entered into'

śunam ma iṣṭam ... *svam ma (ma idam) iṣṭam* , see §353

tās tvā viśantu manasā śvena (TB *mahasā svena*) AV TB

yad anena haviṣāśste tad aśyāt (AŚ *asyām*) MS. ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
'May he obtain that': 'that (is) in this (offering, sc *hotrāyām*)',
or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words
are *tad ṛdhyāt*). Earlier in the same section occurs *asyām ṛdhed*
dhotrāyām

śakma yat te goh KS MS · *sagme te goh* VS ŚB KŚ. *samyat te goh* TS

See §47

tasthau nākasya sōnavi (SV *śarmanī*) RV. SV

apāvṛnod duro aśmavrajānām (MS *asmadrathānām*) RV MS TA

śvātrāh pītā (ViDh *snātāh pītā*) *bhavaṭa yūyam āpah* VS ŚB KŚ
ViDh

sadā (MS *śacyā*) *paśyanī sūrayah* RV AV SV VS. TS MS KS ŚB
NrpU GopālU VasuU SkandaU

tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB *asthām*) RV MS. AB. TB AŚ
Poona ed text and comm *aśyām* for TB , see VV I p 86.

aryo naśanta (SV *nah santu*) *sanīśanta* (SV *†*tu*) *no dhīyah* RV SV
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

āśum jayantam anu (KS *yā samjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV. VS
TS. MS KS ŚB Even the original version is obscure

ā sutrāṇe sumatim āvṛnānah AV Perhaps originally *āsutrāṇe*, see
§355

ś and ṣ

§288. Here the total number of variants is much smaller. Moreover many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following ś seems to replace proper ṣ phonetically
nāmad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat (VS *arṣat*) VS VSK IśāU The
word clearly means 'going' (root *ṛṣ*), VS comm *ṛsa gatau* Cf
however *anarṣarātm* (*alarṣirātm*) .. §292

abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm (MS v 1 °bhūt, ApŚ °bhūvam) MS ApŚ *abhi-
ṣikṣa rājābhūvam* (v 1 °bhūvam) MŚ (quoted from unedited mss ,
probably only a textual error)

§289. We find ṣ for proper ś, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Asura, Śanda or Śanda. The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with ś.

sandāya (VSK ṣa°) tvā VS VSK TS MS ŚB ApŚ

nirastah sandah (VSK MS † 4 6 3 ṣa°) VS VSK MS (bis) ŚB TB
KŚ ApŚ MŚ

apanuttau (KS °tā) *sandāmarkau* (MS * ṣa°) TS MS (bis) KS TB
ApŚ MŚ See von Schroeder's note on MS 4 6 3 82 16, which indicates that he then believed MS to intend *śanda* thruout. But need it have been consistent? The mss are unanimous for ṣ in some places, nearly unanimous for ś in others. Those of MŚ vary.

Corruptions

yenāpāmṛsatam (SMB v 1 °ṣatam) *surām* ŚŚ SMB *yenāvamṛsatām*
surām PG

varuneti śapāmahe (MS † °haṣ, LŚ † ṣayāmahe) VS TS MS KS ŚB
TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ. The LŚ has probably a mere misprint.

[*kavaṣyo loṣadhāvanīh* (MS text *koṣa*°, all mss *loṣa*°, TB † 'koṣa°)
MS KS TB. Read 'loṣa° in all. There would be no variant but for the em in MS, which is unjustified, altho the word meant is that more commonly written *koṣa*.]

§290. The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions, the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original.

indrānyai kīrsā (KSA °ṣā) TS KSA

ṛkṣo jatūh suṣulūkā (MS *śuṣulūkā*) VS MS. See §279.

kūśmāñ (VSK † v 1, MS *kūṣ*°) *chakapindah* (MS *śa*°) VS VSK MS
kūśmāñ chakabhah TS KSA

kūśmāndāh, *ku*°, and *kūṣ*°, *kuṣ*°, also °māndyah and °māndāni, various Dharma texts, see Conc. Names of certain expiatory verses.

ālarṣye larṣyo yathā ApŚ *gūh loṣvoṣyaur yadā girah* Vait. *madhv ity ālarṣah kuṣair yathā* KŚ. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure.

§291. Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of *viśva* varying with *viṣu* (*viṣvak*), the meanings are fairly close.

viśvam satyam kṛnuh viṣtam astu RV *viṣvak satyam kṛnuh cittaṃ eṣām* AV. See Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* 50, Whitney on AV 3 1 4, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3 30 6. [But no emendation of AV.]

is necessary. Render: 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party)' Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 32. 351f) has *viśvam viśam kṛnuhi satyam eśām*, closer to RV. Same general sense in all F. E.]

adhī kṣamā viśurūpān (ArS *kṣamā viśva*°) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs) *purudasmō viśurūpa* (KS °*dasmavad viśvarūpam*, TS. ApŚ. *urudrapso viśvarūpa*) *induh* VS TS KS ŚB ApŚ

§292. The rest are isolated and unclassifiable:

marśarātīm (SV *alarśirātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. AV. SV. N The RV. form is derivable from root ṛś 'injure'; cf Neisser, *ZWbch. d RV*, s v. The SV form seems on the face of it to contain the root ṛ, it may be corrupt Benfey, 'rasche Spende habend'.

nābhimṛṣe (MS KS *nābhidhrṣe*) *tanvā* (TS *tanuvā*) *jarbhurānah* (TS MS KS. *jarhṛṣānah*) RV. VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Not to be touched (attacked)'

asya holuh pradīśy (AV. *praśīśy*) *ṛtasya vāci* RV. AV. VS MS KS TB N Synonyms: 'at the command'.

prānān samkrośaiḥ MS. *samkrośān prānān* (VS. °*krośaiḥ prānān*) VS TS *samghośān* (ms °*gośān*) *prānān* KSA Synonymous roots *kruś* and *ghuś*

yayor vām devau deveṣv anīṣitam (TS *anīś*°) *ojah* TS MS KS. 'Undestroyed', from a- and pple of *nī-śyati*, 'incessant', *a-nīśīta* *sam tvā śīśanti* (Vait *śīṣ*°) Vait LŚ KŚ Garbe takes *śīśanti* from *śīṣ* 'leave'; it is more likely from *śās* (*śīṣ*) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates *śīśanti* ('sharpen')

vanaspatīnr oṣadhī rāya eṣe (**rāye aśyāh*) RV (both) Roots *iṣ* and *aś*, practically synonyms The two versions in adjacent hymns, see *RVRep* 258 Add to VV I §121, 324

aspārśam enam śataśārādāya RV AV In AV most mss, SPP, and even Ppp (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 257), read *aspārśam*, in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV form in his Translation (root *spr*, aor.), we think that the AV tradition intended *aspārśam*, as a form of *sprś*. 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years' Of course the form is highly anomalous

dirghām anu prasṛtīm (KS *samṛtīm*) *āyufe dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS MS ŚB TB *dirghām anu prasṛtīm samsprśethām* MS Cf §78 *tre iṣah* (KS *viśve*, MS *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūriwarpasah* (TS † *bhū-riretasah*) RV. SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

pratnāso agna ṛtam āśuśānāh (AV *āśaśānāh*) RV AV. VS TS 'Blowing upon': 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending')

abhiṣṭir (HG °tīr, ApMB *abhiṣṭī*) *yā ca no grhe* (RVKh *ca me dhruvā*)
RVKh ApMB HG

ā darśate śavasā sapta dānūn RV AV N *ā darśate śavasā bhūryojāh* AV

The whole thought is made over in AV

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (KS *bhadrā vrṣanā agrbhnām*) RV VS TS
KS

aśūsubhanta (TS TB *aśūśudanta*) *yajñīyā rtena* TS MS KS TB

See §286

ṣ and s

§293. Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an *a* to an 'alterant' *i*, *u*, or to different word-division which brought *s* into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete.

dāvīyā mīmānā manasā (VS *manuṣah*) *purutrā* VS MS KS TB
made suśipram (SV *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasah* RV SV Cf PAOS
13, p cxviii

āprno 'sī samprnah (ApŚ *āprnoṣi samprna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is corrupt

vasiṣṭhahanuh VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam* TS TA

sugantuh karma karanah kaṁṣyan JB *sugam tvah karmah karanah*
karah karasyuh LŚ

tenemām upa sñcatam RV AV TA N *tena mām abhiśñcatam* ŚŚ
asūrte (MS KS °tā) *sūrte rajasī nṣatte* (MS °tā, KS *na saltā*) RV VS
MS KS N See §828

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany ām-*
urīm uta SV

rṣinām ca stutir (SV *suṣtutir*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS

§294. The rest are scattering

ye vrkṣeṣu (KS *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāh* (TS *saspi°*) VS TS MS KS MG

See §§32, 278, and next

namah saṣpiñjarāya (TS *saspi°*) *tvīṣimate* VS TS MS † KS

sarvam tam (AV *sarvān n*, MS KS TA *sarvāns tām*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS
ŚB, *masmasā*, MS † *mṛsmṛsā*, one ms *mṛsmṛsā*, VS *bhasmasā*)
kuru (AV *-karam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The word is
sound-imitative (cf Eng *mash*, similar but independent) VS
rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242)

ā sutrāvne sumatim āvrñānah AV *oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatim grñānāh* TS
Whitney suggests, attractively, *āsutrāvne* (to match *oṣiṣṭha-* in

TS); but *su-trāman*, *su-trāla*, and *su-trātra* seem to support the tradition of AV (*āśu* seems not used with the root (*rā*)).

lh, lʃ and sibilants

§295. In view of the common later confusion of *ʃ* and *lh*, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds, cf. the m.s. reading *śudasi* at AV. 20 135 4, for *lhudasī* of ŚŚ :

kaṣoṭkāya svāhā TA TAA.. *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU Neither word is interpretable

§296. There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between *lh* and *ś*, which point in a like direction, cf. the reading *khunā* for *śunā* (thru *śunā*) 'by a dog', Pārśvanātha Caritra 2 268.

āśum tvāṇau (ApŚ *ālhum tvā ye*) *dadhirc devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ The original is *āśum*, which refers to Agni To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain. The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ and MŚ, reads *ity ālhularīṣam* (MŚ **kirim*) *nivapati*, 'he throws down a mole-hill'. Hence the word *ākhū* has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ (where Caland translates *āśum*)

ud vanśam va yemure RV SV TS. KB. N · *ūrdhvam kham va menure* Mabābh 12 284 78

§297. And one case of *lʃ* and *ś* (lexical).

mayum te śug rchahu (KS *te lʃut*) VS MS KS ŚB The same with other animal names in the same passage

s(ʃ) and h

§298. There is but faint evidence for this interchange The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic, see Wackernagel I §221, Pischel §264 In the following it is to be presumed that an original *s* is replaced by *h*.

dhryā na (SV *no*) *vājān upa māsi* (SV *māhi*) *śaśvatah* RV SV Verb endings, see VV I p 101 The reverse is found in the first variant in §299

dhruvāsah (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā me* RV AV. KS TB ApŚ SMB MG The obsolescent ending *āsah* is replaced by the regular *ā(s)* plus the particle *ha*

jātavedo nayā hy enam suhṛtām yatra lokah JB *jātavedo vahemam* (ŚŚ *vahasvarnam*) *suhṛtām yatra lokah* (TA *lokāh*) TA ŚŚ. The Conc. suggests possibly *nayāsy* for *nayā hy* in JB

āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann eṣām*
apsuvāho mayobhūn SV See §820

[*pratyañ* (etc) *so'no aḥdrutah* (°*srutah* etc, AV text °*hrutah*), see §275
 The true text of AV. is °*drutah*]

§299. In the rest it appears that an older *h* is replaced by *s*
stuto yāsi (RV *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV VS TS KS ŚB LŚ See VV I p
 105 The converse of the first variant in §298

turiyāditya (VSK. *turyā°*) *savanam* (RV *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV VS
 VSK TS MS KS ŚB Synonymous roots *su* and *hu*

ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS . *ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti* (AŚ
harito vahantu) TB AŚ ApŚ

guhā hitām nihitām (KS † omits *nihitām*, by haplology) *gahvareṣu* KS
 MŚ . *guhā satīm gahane gahvareṣu* TB ApŚ

pratno hi (TA *pratnoṣi*) *kam idyo adhwareṣu* RV AV TA MahānU
 The TA reading is corrupt, comm *pratanoṣi*!

[*suhaveha* (AV. misprinted *susaveha*) *havāmahe* RV AV VS MS KS
 See Whitney on AV. 3 20 6]

CHAPTER IX PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

1 Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

§300. This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi, namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels; the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character: see Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root:

ya eṣa svapnānanāśanah (AV °*nāśanah*) RV. AV N.

pūṣne 'ñghrṇaye svāhā TA · *pūṣna āghrṇaye* (em, mss *āprṇaye*) *svāhā*

MŚ āghrṇi is a regular epithet of Pūṣan. For *āñghrṇi*, comm. *añjanena dīpyamānah*, but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for *āgh*°

§301 From different and equally regular forms of the verb:

agnim naras triśadhashe sam idhṛe (SV TS *indhate*) RV. SV. TS KS.

agnim idhe (SV *indhe*) *vivasrabhih* RV SV

atra pitaro yathābhāgam mandadhvam TS TB ApŚ · *atra pitaro mādayadhvam* VS VSK MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ MŚ Kauś. SMB.

GG KhG. VdDh Add to VV I §240

krūrām ānanśa (KS † ApŚ *ānāśa*) *martyah* (KS † *martah*) AV. KS.

ApŚ See VV I p 187

na papatvāya rāsīya (SV *rasiṣam*) RV AV SV See VV I p 109.

§302. In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound:

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS °*vīśāt*, LŚ † *śadmbīśāt*)

RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ See §217

agnim idhṛa (SV *indhṛa*) *martyah* RV SV. Cf next; both verbs are common in Agni-worship

yam sīm id anya idate RV *yam sam id anya indhate* SV. Cf prec

yācad (SV. TS. KS. *yāñśad*) *vīśram ny adriṇam* RV. SV. VS TS. MS. KS.

Roots *yā* and *yam* quasi-synonyms

ato no 'nyat pīlato mā yojā (HG. *yūdhram*) ApŚ MS. HG.: *mā vo* (AŚ *no*) 'to 'nyat pīlato *yoyurata* (AŚ. *yūṅgdhram*) AŚ. Kauś. If we may trust *yūṅgdhram*, the other verbs are from *yu* 'unite', therefore synonymic. Cf. VV I pp. 42, 150

āpo aemān (MS. *mā*) *mātarah śundhayanantu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV. MS. KS. *śundayantu*) RV. AV. VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

§303. Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological; at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I: see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vida*: *rinda*, *vṛjyāh*: *vṛjyāt*, etc.); §279 (*maśīya*: *maśīya*); §280 (*adadṛhanta*: *adadṛhanta*); and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in *ti*, *nī*, *te*, *nī*, etc., on pp. 255 ff.

§303a. Twice subjunctives in *-(ā)si* are reported with an anomalous *n* before the *s*. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms. of KS. in the second; in the first no v. l. is reported for ŚG. and Oldenberg keeps °*yāñei*, tho he translates °*yāsi* (see his note, p. 36):

jālānām janayās ca yān (ŚG. *janayāñsi ca*; AV Ppp. *janayāsi* [not °*mi*, as Whitney says] *ca*) AV. ŚG. Barret, JAOS 32. 360, needlessly emends Ppp. to the Ś reading. Add to VV I §253.

rahāñi mā (KS † *vahāñsi eā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāh* (KS. † *lokah*) KS TB.

§304. Similarly, such cases as *crṣā punāna āyusu* (SV. *āyūñsi*) RV. SV., or *etar devā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *sutar devān*) *aganma* (MS. MS. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MS., belong to noun declension; and *ajastam tvām* (ApŚ. *tvā*) *sabhāpālāh* TB. ApŚ. to pronominal declension. In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated; here we content ourselves with examples.

§305. Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation:

urū gabbhīrā (TS *gambhīrā*) *sumatiḥ te astu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In this

and the next TS replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language.

gabhīram (TS. *gambh°*) *imam adhvaram kṛdhī* VS TS MS ŚB Cf.

prec

samudra vr̥ṣi gahmanā (TB *ganh°*, but Poona ed *gah°*) TB ApŚ
satyaujasā dṛnhanā (KS † *dṛhanā*, MS *durhṛnā*) *yan nudethe* TS MS

KS. *sacclasau druhvano yan nudethe* AV Both TS. and KS.
understand a form of *dṛh dṛnh* (cf *adadrhanta adadrnh°*, VV I
p 187); AV and MS struggle in common with another idea

antah subhrāvatā (SV. *Sundhyātā*) *pathā* RV. SV Cf §173

samudrāya śiśumārah VS MS : *sindhoh śinsumārah* (KSA † *śiśu°*)

TS KSA The form *śinśu°* occurs in RV ; cf. Pali *sunsumāra*
Later *śiśu°* is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adapta-
tion by popular etymology to *śiśu* 'boy' The long *ū* of KSA. may
be a mere corruption in the single ms

§306. The prefix *sa* varies with its own reduced grade, *sa-*, and with a
syllable *sa-* of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious):

samvṛd asī TS *savṛd asī* VS KS. PB : *savṛtā savṛte savṛj jinva* MS.
samstup chandah VS MS KS. ŚB : *saṣṭup chandah* TS.

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (TS *samvṛdhane*, KS *savṛdhvane*, MS
svvṛdhvane) *ca* VS TS. MS KS

satatam tu śrābhīs tu MahānU. *samtatam śrābhīs* (Poona ed *śilā°*
v l. *śrā°*) *tu* TA

nakṣatrānām sakāśān mā yaūṣam MS : *nakṣatrānām mā samkāśā ca*
pratikhāśā cūvalām Vait Kauś

agne sasṛjmahe (MS *samsṛ°*) *gīrah* RV SV. MS KS Here *sa-* is the
reduplicating syllable

sa (MS *sa*) *dundubhe sajūr indrena devaīh* RV AV VS TS MS. KSA
N The MS hardly makes sense; it is probably due to assimilation
in meaning to *sajūr*

sa (MS *sa*) *dāśuṣe kīratu bhūri vāmam* TS MS AŚ. ŚŚ Again MS is
hardly interpretable, its change is the reverse of the prec.

sa *yajñapatir* (VSK *yajamāna*) *āśiṣā* VS VSK. TS. MS KS. ŚB
ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ : *sa yajñapatir āśiṣā* Vait (probably to be cor-
rected to *sa*, see Caland on Vait 4 21)

§307. Other cases of final anusvāra before consonants (cf also §401):
rajobhūmis tvam mām (MahānU. *tvam ām*, so TA. Poona ed with v. l
tvam mām) *rodayasva pravadanti dhīrāh* TA Mahān U.

talo (PB *le*) *ha jajñe* (MŚ 'ham yajñe') *bhuvanasya gopāh* (MŚ *goptā*)
TB PB ApŚ MŚ See §192, MŚ clearly secondary

ya im vahanta āsubhā RV yadī vahanty āśavah SV
svahpatir yadī vṛdhe SV svarpatim yad im vṛdhe RV AV
yo rayvo (SV rayim vo) rayintamah RV SV KB ŚŚ ŚG The SV
 doubtless corrupt
tasyām no devah (MS tasyām devah) savitā dharmam (VS † VSK †
TS † ŚB † dharmā) sāviṣat (VSK ° śak) VS VSK TS MS KS
ŚB. Stems *dharmā dharman*
mā mā yūnarvā hāṣit (JB yono vām hārasih) PB JB` LŚ Incom-
 prehensible in either form
sa im (TS ī) mandrā .. (see §374) VS TS MS The particle *im*
 becomes *ī* in TS, before *m*, this might be put with §401
sam im (SV u) rebhāso asvaran RV AV SV

Nasal as 'Hiatusilger'

§308. The R̥gveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here the nasal (in the recognized RV cases always anusvāra) acts as 'Hiatusilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 33 4. The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelied, and in another case ApMB MG read *tanūn* for RV *tanū*, all intending a loc sing

svāyām †tanūn (RV tanū) ṛtvīye (RV † °vīye) RV ApMB MG
 See Winternitz, *Introd to ApMB*, XIX. Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of *tanvām*

ā te suparnā amnāntan (MS TS °ta) evah RV. TS MS KS AB

§309. Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, *n* or *m* seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatusilger' between vowels, or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final *m* before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus

yadīn (AV yady) ṛnam samgaro devatāsu AV TA Comm on TA
yadīn ṛnam, yad eva prasiddham ṛnam We must apparently understand *in* for *im* (aliter *ī*), the particle of emphasis, the TA form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus. A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf §438

abhīm ṛtasya (SV abhy ṛtasya) sudughā ghṛtaścutah RV SV The SV, tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatusilger

abhī (SV abhīm) ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata RV SV

yenāksā (SMB °*kṣān*, PG °*kṣyāv*, ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyāṣīñcatam*, PG. °*lām*) AV. ŚŚ SMB PG Nom.: acc. forms

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS : *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV. If TS has the original form, AV. may be regarded as a lect fac, with avoidance of hiatus. *agner jihvām abhi* (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām*, *abhi*; AV. KS. *jihvāyābhi*) *†grnīlam* (AV *grnata*) AV. VS TS. MS. KS. 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni.' MS might intend an instrumental, but note the p p

§310. Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants:

agnir ukthena vāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ : *agnir uktheṣi anhasu* AV. *apām rasam udvayasam* (KS' *udayansam*, TA. *udayansan*) VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB TB TA

agnim adya hotāram aṣṇīlāyam yajamānah pacan paktīh (VSK. *pañktīh*) *pacan* . . VS VSK. MS. KS. TB. (See also Conc. under *sīsena agnim adya* etc, TB, but Poona ed. of TB. lacks the word *sīsena*, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi.) *pañktīh* 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt The same blunder in Kauś 22 10; see Bloomfield, GGA 1902 492.

§311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before *y*); to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong:

tam āhutam naśimah (AV °*lam aś*°) RV. AV. AB. Parallel roots *aś* and *naś*

lasya rathagṛtsaś (MS °*kṛtsnaś*, KS °*kṛtsaś*) *ca* . . . VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB See §46

namah kṛtsnāyatāya (VS. °*yatayā*, KS *kṛtsamvīlāya*, TS. MS *kṛtsnavīlāya*) *dhāvate* VS. VSK. TS. MS KS. A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS.

na kir devā minīmasi RV.: *na kī devā inīmasi* SV. Svidh. The strange *inīmasi* is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from *i(-noti)* Benfey equates it with *min*° with unexplained loss of *m* Reverse of Hiatusstilger?

sam tvā tatakṣuh (LŚ °*kṣnuh*) Vait. KŚ. LŚ. See VV I p. 146. The monstrous form of LŚ may be influenced by its viniyoga: *itī takṣnuyuh* (itself somewhat anomalous).

agnaye dhūñkṣnā (KSA. °*kṣā*) TS KSA.: *dhūñkṣāgneṣi* (VSK. vv. II °*kṣyā* and °*kṣvā*) VS VSK. MS. Possibly the second nasal of TS. is due to the influence of the first.

annam me (ApŚ **no*) *budhya* (ApŚ °*dhnya*) *pāhi*, and °*yājugupah*
MS ApŚ One ms of MS writes *buddhya* each time, perhaps
budhya is intended

Cf *jīvām rlebhyah* (read *mṛ°* with SPP, comm, and many mss)
parinīyamānām AV

§312. Note finally the following curious variant

kāyamāno (MŚ *kāmayamāno*) *vanā tvam* RV SV MŚ N Sāyana
glosses by *kāmayamāno*, the later regular form, which is secondarily
introduced in MŚ

2 Presence or absence of *y*

§313. A large proportion of the variants under this head concern the presence or absence of suffixal *ya*. A form containing this suffix varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary noun or adjective in *a*, or a secondary derivative in suffixal *a*. These cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more fully. To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics, notably where *y* appears after a double consonant in such pairs as *bhakṣa bhakṣya*, etc. Metrical considerations enter to some extent, the form with *y* may be read as a syllable longer than the other form, and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as will be pointed out in individual cases.

(a) Words equivalent in meaning, *y* follows two consonants

§314. We begin with cases where the *y* follows two consonants (and is often written, and regularly pronounced, *īya*, see §784), and in which the form in *y* is equivalent in meaning to that without *y*. The latter in a few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix *a* by showing vriddhi of the first syllable, while the *y* form lacks vriddhi.
aghoreṇa cakṣusā matriyena (ApMB *matireṇa*, KS ApŚ *cakṣuṣāham śīvena*) AV KS ApŚ ApMB. But *matireṇa* may be a noun, 'friendship', *matriyena* must be an adjective.

māham pautram (KBU *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG *nūyām*, see §724, SMB *nūgām*, and *riṣam*) AG SMB ApMB HG KBU

ya āntarikṣāh (sc *sarpās* etc.) HG *ye sarpāh pārthivā ye antarikṣyā*
AG

vāyur na īdita īditavyair devair antarikṣyair (ApŚ *āntarikṣair*) *pātu*
KS ApŚ : *vāyuṣ īvāntarikṣāt pātu sūyo divah* MŚ. The latter contains the primary noun and belongs with §321.

prabhūyā agnyedham (TB *āgnendham*) VS TB. On the troublesome TB form see §491.

§315. In the rest, the great majority, secondary *vriddhi* appears in neither form or in both:

sumnāya sumnānī sumne mā dhattam TS TB ApŚ : *sumnāyawah* (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS KS . *sumne sthah sumne mā dhattam* VS ŚB Both *sumna* and *sumnya* are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'

agnir devebhyah suvidatryebhyah (TA. °*trebhyah*) RV AV TA N.

svaigāsi KS . *svargyāsi* ApŚ

ūrdhvam manah svargyam (TA *suvargam*) MS TA

na yajñasya manvate martāsah (TB ApŚ *marlāsah*) RV. KB TB ApŚ The reading *marlāsah* is poor metrically

krūram ānanša (KS † ApŚ *ānāša*) *martyah* (KS † *martah*) AV KS. ApŚ Again *martah* is unmetrical

marṣeṣu (VS MS KS *marlṣeṣu*) *agnir amṛto n dhāyi* RV VS TS MS KS ApMB

sumitrā (VS ŚB MahānU ŚŚ KS *sumitryā*, AŚ LŚ *sumitryā*) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa osadhayah santu* (KS † °*yo bhavantu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ LŚ BDh Followed by.

durmutrās (VS ŚB MahānU KS °*triyās*, AŚ ŚŚ LŚ °*tryās*) *tasmat santu* (KS * TS † TB TA MahānU BDh *bhūyāsu*) *yo* .., same texts

śārgah srjayah (TS KSA *ākhuḥ srjayā*) *śayāndakas* (KSA °*kās*, em v Schr °*kas*, TS *śayandakas*) *te martrāh* (KSA °*tryāh*, em unnecessarily to °*trāh* in ed) VS TS. MS KSA

abhi dyumnam (RV VS *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yav.ṣṭhya*, MS p p °*ṣṭha*) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB *yaviṣṭha* and °*ṭhya* are perfect equivalents, the former seems to be preferred at the end of a *triṣṭubh* pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas

tām agne samidhānam yaviṣṭha (RV °*ṭhya*) RV. TB. ApŚ The stanza is pure *jagati* in RV , half of it is made *triṣṭubh* in the others

śalam pūrbhīr yaviṣṭhya RV . *yaviṣṭha pāhy anhasah* RV TA See RVRep 539

gambhīrebhīh (AV TS HG °*raih*) *pathībīhīh pūrvnebhīh* (MS *pūrvēbhīh*, AV *pūryānāih*, TS HG *pūrvyāih*) AV TS MS KS SMB AŚ HG

brhat sāma kṣotrābhīrd vrddhavṛṣṇyam (MS °*nam*, so ed with p p , other mss °*num*, read probably °*nyam*, TS °*vṛṣṇyam*) TS MS KS AŚ

tāsām viśvānām (KS °*nyānām*) MS KS

amo nīveṣyāya (p. p. *nī*) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS : *namo hṛdayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca* VS. : *namo hradayyāya* (KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (KS. *ṣyāya*) *ca* TS KS From the noun *rīveṣyā* 'whirlpool', is derived *nīveṣyā* 'of the whirlpool'. The stem *nīveṣyā* (or *nī*, note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it; practically a question of mere orthography. One KS. ms *nīveṣyāya*

namaḥ śighryāya (TS *śighryāya*) *ca śibhyāya ca* VS TS : *namaḥ śibhāya ca śighrāya ca* MS KS

tau te bhakṣam (LŚ *ṣyam*) *ca kratur agra etam* VS JB TB ApŚ LŚ ŚŚ *tayor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayāmi* TB. ApŚ : *tayor aham anu bhakṣam* (LŚ *ṣyam*) *bhakṣayāmi* VS. LŚ : *tayor aham bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi* JB ŚŚ

jaitrāyā (ApMB *ṭrāyā*) *viśatād u* (HG. *ṭām*, ApMB *ṭān*) *mām* RVKh VS. ApMB. HG.

devānsō yasmai tveḍe . . . bhañgena (ApŚ *bhañgyena*) VS ŚB ApŚ *yamam bhañgyaśravo* (KS MŚ *bhañga*) *gāya* KS TA. ApŚ MŚ *yamam gāya bhañgyaśravah* (KS MŚ *bhañga*) KS TA ApŚ MŚ *maṇḍūkāñ jambhyyebhīh* (KSA. *jambhahīh*) TS KSA TB. ApŚ *jambhābhyāñ taskarañ* (p. p. *ṛān*) *uta* MS : *jambhayaś* (KS. *ṣebhīś*) *taskarañ* (KS ṭ *ṛān*) *uta* VS TS KS.

astasya vāje (KS *krande*, TB. *krandye*) *puruṣasya māyau* AV KS TB *yo 'sya* (MŚ *asya*, but Van Gelder *'sya*) *lauṣṭhya* (KS *kausṭha*) *jagatah* KS TS ApŚ. MŚ.

śvetāya vaidarvāya (PG *vyāya*, AG. ŚG. *dārvāya*, MG *vaitahavyāya*) . . AG PG. ŚG ApMB. HG MG

pāpat svapnyād abhūtyāh AV. *pāpah svapnād abhūtyai* KŚ It would be pedantry to see in *svapnya* any really different meaning from *svapna* [*īnalām aptyam* (AV. *āptam*) *āptyānām* RV AV. N The AV. must doubtless be emended to *āptyam* with Whitney]

(b) Words equivalent in meaning; y follows one consonant

§316. Next, forms in which the *y* follows a single consonant, both forms still equivalent in meaning. A small group shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation in the form without *y*, not in that with *y*.

meghyā (VS *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācah* VS TS MS KSA
brhanto dānīh (VS *divyāh*) VS MS ApŚ *divya* from *div*, *dāva* from *dēva*, but meaning the same.

achinno divyas (KS ApŚ *davyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ See next

brhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ. *dawo*, this belongs to §324) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ : *brhaspatir brahmāham mānuṣaḥ* LŚ *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya* are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun Cf. prec

kalpayatam mānuṣīḥ TB ApŚ *dr̥ṇhantām dauvīr viśaḥ kalpantām ṭmanuṣyāḥ* KS

dhiṣanāsi pūrvaṭi (VS ŚB *par°*, TS TB ApŚ *parvatyā*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ Adjectives *pāvata* and *paratya* (and, if VS ŚB are right, *parvata*. Mahīdhara, *parvatātmikā*); all 'of the rock' The VS ŚB. reading is supported by the ms readings (two occurrences) of KS, *pervatī* both times, von S. Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice

aranyāya (MS *āranāya*, but p p *aranyāya*) *śmarah* VS. TS MS KSA.

§317. The rest show vridhhi either in both forms or in neither. Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems *dauva* and *daivya*:

dauvo (HG °*vyo*) *yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG

dauvā hotārah saṁṣan nṛ etat AV.: *dauvyā hotāro* (TS. °*rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vani°*, KS *ṭvanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (KS *etat*) RV. TS KS.

dauvyā (AV °*vā*) *hotārā* (TS °*rāv*, AV. °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (MS adds *imam*, KS *hotārordhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV. VS TB. MS. KS 18 17a (†)

dauvyam (MS °*vam*) *mānuṣā yugā* (MS *yujā*) RV SV VS TS. MS. ŚB

pauruṣeyād dauvyāt KS : *pauruṣeyān na dauvā* AV. 4 26 7c

mānuṣād dauvyam (MŚ °*vam*) *upaimi* TB ApŚ. MŚ

sam dauvena (VS ŚB both also °*vyena*, TA *devena*) *savitṛā* VS ŚB TA Mahīdhara glosses both forms by *devena*

§318. Another compact group is formed by variants of *sūra* and *sūrya*, again perfect equivalents.

brhat sūro (KS. *sūryo*) *arocata* RV KS

sūryāso (SV *sūrāso*) *na darśatāsaḥ* RV. SV

saṁjñ sūra (MS *sūrā*, TS *sūrya*) *etaśena* VS TS MS KS ŚB

sa sūra ā (ŚŚ *sūrye*) *janayañ jyotiṣ indram* (ŚŚ *indrah*) TB ŚŚ

spardhante dhīyah (TS KSA *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūne na*, TS. KSA ṭ *sūryena*) *viśaḥ* RV SV. TS KSA

§319. The rest are sporadic:

āpura stā mā prajāyā paśubhiḥ pūrayata ŚŚ · *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata prajāyā ca dhanena ca* TS AŚ

agneh puriṣavāhanah (MS *puriṣya*°, VS † ŠB † °vāhanah) VS TS MS
KS ŠB *puriṣa* and °*ṣya* are equivalent, Pān 3 2 65

kāmāyāi svāhā MG · *kāmyāyāi svāhā* MS MŚ. Probably MG.
corrupt

śakalyam (AG *śakalam*, sc *tarpayāmi*) ŚG. AG Both patronymics
from *śakala* Since Oldenberg's translation of ŚG reads *śak*°, we
assume that *śakalyam* is the true reading, *śa*° probably misprint
yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB. *śronī*°) *bhāsādāt* RV AV. ApMB .
yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam AV In RV *bhāsada*
is a noun, in the second AV version it and *bhasadya* are both
adjectives, and one (probably *bhasadyam*, but Whitney suggests
bhāsadam) must be omitted as an ancient gloss

rāyas roṣam audbhīdam (ApMB. °*dyam*) RVKh VS HG ApMB
pā·zmānāh, °*nyāh*, and °*nyah*, various Dharma texts All adjectives
from *pavamāna*.

māyobhavyāya (ŚG *āyo*°) *catuspadī* AG ŚG . *catvāri māyobhavyā* TB
ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG MG Equivalent nouns
adveṣe (MS °*ṣye*) *dyāvāpṛthivī huvema* (MS *huve*) RV. VS MS 'Having
no hostility' = 'not hostile'.

[*mitrāvarunābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām* . VS TS MS KSA † Conc
wrongly quotes KSA as *ānuṣṭubhyā*°]

anyam te asman (NṛpU. 'sman, AV. *asmat te*) *nī vapantu senāh* (AV
senyam) RV. AV TS NṛpU *Senyam* must = *senā*

(c) *Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows two consonants*

§320. In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to
each other. In many cases the derivative adjective in *ya* is paralleled
by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary
noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it In other cases the
difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance
becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is
especially tenuous

§321. As before, we list first cases in which the *y* follows two con-
sonants, being then sometimes written *vy*
mandrābhūhūh (MŚ *mandrā vibhūh*) *ketur yajñānām* (MŚ *yajñīyā*)
vāg . TS MŚ

viśve devā mama śrnavantu yajñīyāh (ArS *yajñam*) RV ArS ŚŚ
yajñam-yajñam (KS *yajñīyā-yajñam*) *prati devayadbhyaḥ* (KS † ŚŚ †
°*yadbhyaḥ*) VSK KS. TS ŚŚ KŚ MŚ

mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu (mss *nuh*) MŚ . *mā rudrīyāso abhi*
gulbadhānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA

iyam pitryā (AB *vai pitre*, AŚ. ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV GB *clv*) *agre*
AV AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

putrah pitre (KŚ *pitrye*) *lokakṛj jātavedah* TB KŚ. ApŚ 'As a son to his father': 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers'

yā (AV omits) *antarikṣa* (KS AG °*ḷṣyā*) *ula pārthwīr yāh* (KS. *pārthivāsah*, AV *vā prthivyām*) AV KS TB ApŚ. AG. (AVPpp. . *pārthivā yāh*)

namah kātyāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya (MS °*ṣṭhyāya*, p p °*ṣṭhāya*) *ca* VS TS. MS KS

indro jyēṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyaisṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaisṭhyāya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Of the noblest': 'of the highest nobilities': 'for highest nobility'.

adhva-ām adhupate śreṣṭhah 'svastyasyādhanah' (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhanah*, MG *śraṣṭhyasya svastasyādhanah*) *pāram aṣṭya* AŚ ApMB MG Read *svastyasyā*° in MG with most mss

arghah HG *arghyam* ŚŚ HG. *arghyam bhoh* Kauś : *arhanīyā āpah* ApG. *arghyam* '(water) of the argha'

adhyakṣyānukṣattāram TB · *ṭadhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram* VS.

§322. A considerable group concerns *uktha* and *ukthya*, the latter meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by *ukthas*', or 'one to be revered with *ukthas*'.

uktham vācīndrāya TS AB GB AŚ Vait ApŚ MS : *uktham avācīndrāya* ŚŚ . *ukthyam vācīndrāya śṛnvate tvā* AŚ

mantram vadaty ukthyam (NrpU *uktham*) RV VS MS KS AA ApŚ NrpU

aṅgāni ta ukthyah pātu MS ApŚ *ukthas* ('I read *ukthyas*?) *te* †' *ṅgāni pātu asau* AŚ

ukthebhyaḥ tvokthāvyam grhnāmi KS · *uktheyebhya ukthyāyuvam* ApŚ. *uktham* (AŚ *ukthyam*) *indrāya śansyam* RV SV AŚ

(d) Words not equivalent in meaning, y follows one consonant

§323. Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the y, we find first a number of interchanges between *vīra* 'hero' and *vīrya* 'heroism'

yau vīryair vīratamā śaviṣṭhā AV : *vīrebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* MS : *vīryebhir vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB 'ac°) VS ŚB TB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ *eṣa te yajño yajñapate sahasūktavākah suvīrah* (AV *suvīryāh*, VS *sarva-vīras*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

anāmi kṣatram ajaram suvīryam (MS KS *suvīram*) RV TS MS KS *sa* (also *sā*) *no dohatām suvīryam* (MŚ *suvīram*) TB ApŚ MŚ (In all texts with both *sa* and *sā*)

purukṣu tvaṣṭā (MS °ṭah) *suṽryam* (VSK TS *suṽram*) VS VSK TS MS

nirdevam nirvīram (KSA °ryam) *kṛtvā* . . TS. KSA.

prajāṃ suṽrām (PG. *suṽryām*) *kṛtvā* TS PG

§324. Next a group containing forms of stems *div* and *divya*, or once *deva* and *divya*; cf. several similar cases at the beginning of §316 *divaś chadmāsi* AG.: *divyam chadmāsi* . . LŚ

divo dhārām bhindhī KS.: *bhindhīdam* (MS *bhindyado*) *divyam nabhaḥ* AV TS MS KS

madhye divo (MS * *divyo*) *nihitah prśnir aśmā* VS TS MS (both) KS ŚB

ahar divābhīr (MS. *vahad divyābhīr*) *ūtībhiḥ* VS MS ŚB. TA ŚŚ LS *divābhīr* is for *divā + ābhīr*, but is understood by comm. on TA as one word, = *dyotamānābhīr*. This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS, which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective.

vācū tvā hotrā prānenodgātṛā . . *pañcabhīr dāṛyair* (MŚ *devair*) *ṛtvāgbhīr uddharāmi* ApŚ MŚ

§325. The rest require no subdivision.

ālir (TS KSA *ālī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS TS MS KSA.

pāra (p p of TS *pāre*) *ikṣavo 'vāryebhyah* (KSA ṛ 'vāriyebhyah) *pakṣma-bhyah svāhā* TS KSA.: *avāra* (p p of TS °re) *ikṣavah pāryebhyah* (KSA *pāriye*°) *pakṣmabhyah svāhā* TS KSA. *pāryāni palṣmāny avāryā ilṣavah*, and: *avāryāni pakṣmāni pāryā ilṣavah* VS MS

pāryāya kaivarītam TB. *pārāya mārgāram* VS *avāryāya mārgāram* TB : *avārāya kaivarītam* VS

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathah RV SV.: *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS ŚB

sugamī ca me supatham (VE KapS. °*thyam*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS KapS

mā tvat ksetrūny aranāni (MS °*nyāni*, p p °*nāni*) *ganma* RV TS MS KS TB

bṛhatā tvā rathamlarena triṣṭubhyā (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *varīanyā* MS KS *bṛhadrathamitarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho varīanyā* . . TS

sūpasthā asī vānaspatyah MŚ : *sūpasthā devo vānaspatih* TS ApŚ *agne tīam purīṣyah* VS KS. ŚB : *agneḥ purīṣam asī* VS VSK TS MS.

KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ And others, see Conc

namah sobhyāya ca pratīṣaryāya (MS °*sarāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS *namo lopyāya colapyāya* (MS °*pāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS

namah parnāya (TS. KS † *parnyāya*) *ca parnaśādāya* (VS. °*śādāya*, TS. °*śadyāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS.

śukras te grahah (VS ŚB. *grahyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB, MŚ 'Draught': '(juice) for the draught'.

atho varunād ula RV. AV VS : *nir mā varunād ula* (ApŚ *adhi*) LŚ ApŚ Inferior meter in the latter

sa budhnyād (TS. KS AŚ. °*nūd*) *āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy* (TS KS AŚ *januṣābhy*) *agram* AV TS. KS AŚ (AVPpp agrees with the others, Barret, JAOS 37.260)

tayā gr̥nantah sadhamādeṣu AV. : *tayā madantah sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS °*mādeṣu*) RVKh VS MS KS TB : *tasthur gr̥nantah sadhamādyāṣah* RV. AV. (Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* for RVKh, but his ms °*mādyeṣu*) In MS KS TB *sadhamādya* means the same as °*māda* 'feast', but in RV. AV 'participant in a *sadhamāda*' *nir mā muñcāmī śapathāt* LŚ ApŚ. : *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV VS

agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva (KS *īkṣva*) KS ApŚ : *ava devānām yaja hedo agne* (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ : *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ.

namo duṇḍubhyāya cāhananyāya (MS *duṇḍubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS MS KS

anhasaspalaye tvā VS ŚB KŚ : *anhaspatyāya tvā* TS MS. TB. ApŚ §326. We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix *ya* with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar:

ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (TS *rājasūyāya*, MS KS °*sūyāś*) *cītānāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB *rājasūya*, adjective in MS KS, is equivalent to *rājasū*, the suffix *ya* is here added after a vowel In TS it appears as a noun Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between -ūy- and -v-

svāhā rājasūyāh (VS ŚB °*svah*, TS °*sūyāya cītānāh*) VS TS MS. ŚB MŚ Cf prec.

mahādevam antahpārśvena (VS † °*parśavyena*) VS TS TA Formally, the VS form is based on *parśu* 'rib'. Mahidhara: *antar pārśvāsthīsambandhina mānsena* The form *antahpārśvya* occurs in the next formula

āganma mitrāvarunā varenyā (KS °*yam*, MS. *varena*) TS. MS KS Here the adjective *varenya-* is corrupted in MS to *varena*, instr sing of *vara-*.

Other cases of *y* in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a *y* which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings *ya*

upastutyam mahi jātām (MS °*tyam janāma tat*; TS.* *upastutam janāma tat*) *te jarvan* RV. VS TS (both) MS KS Vait Gerundive varies with past pple

uta prahām atidīwyā jayāti (AV. °*dīā jayati*) RV AV The RV has a gerund form; the AV. a nom sg of stem -*dīran*

In another case an infinitive *martave* varies with *mṛtyave*, dative of *mṛtyu* (equivalent in meaning):

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB *martave*) RV PB

§328. A few variants concern noun inflexion Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem forms in *y-ah* varying with masc or neut forms without *y*):

āpo me hotrāśansinah (AG °*śanyah*) ŚB ApŚ AG 'The waters are my Hotrāśansins'; the priest-name is once made fem to agree with *āpah*

varṣās cālṣuṣyah VS. ŚB : *varṣāni cālṣuṣāni* TS MS KS Here the noun itself changes gender.

Or different case-forms vary:

vi śloka etu (AV. *etu*; TS ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, KS † *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*) RV AV VS. TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU Alternative forms *pathā* and *pathyā* The latter may be nom in RV. (so Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10 13 1); in most texts it is certainly instrumental

imām narāh (MŚ ApŚ.* *narah*) *kṛnuta vedīm etya* (MŚ *etat*, but read *eta* with all mss but one; ApŚ † 2 2 6a *eta*) TB ApŚ MŚ Caland recognizes *eta* as secondary to *etya* The reading *etal* (actually *etad*, before *d-*) has no standing; were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401.

ān ma āsan (MŚ PG *āsyē*) AV TS GB TAA Yait ApŚ MŚ Kauś PG BDh Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems *āsan* and *āsyā* Interest attaches to the form *āsyān*, which is read by Gaastra in GB with all his mss, and which is also the reading of most mss of AV and Kauś, so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from

the mss of Vait , possibly this is an editorial oversight) The form *āsyan* is evidently a blend of the other two forms

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without *y* occur. Thus, first, an inserted *y* is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first), the same root now and then forms both, cf. VV I p 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following:

tapate svāhā TS KSA TA . *tapyate svāhā* VS

tapatyai (TA Poona ed *tapyatvai*, v. l. *tapatyai*) *svāhā* KSA TA : *tapyatvai* (v. l. *tyai*) *svāhā* TS The form *tapyatvai*, if correct, would be from the Rigvedic adjective *tapyatu*, which is based on the present stem *tapyā-* as much as *tapatyai* (pres pple) is based on stem *tapa-*

§330. So the *y* of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms; see VV I pp 49 ff , where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound.

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyāścyanā* (ŚŚ. SMB *śīñcatam*, PG *śīñcatām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG

§331. Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work. We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA ApŚ. MŚ See VV I p 78

Presence or absence of *y* after palatal sounds and *kṣ*, *s*, etc

§332. Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent *y* follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially *ḷṣ* Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound *y* is phonetic in character, connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of *y* after such consonants The *y* may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp 28-9):

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA *°yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. *°yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ Aorist in MS, future in TA ; in ŚŚ a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of *ā-yam*

(*net tvā.*) *dadhr̥g* (TA *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāle* (TA *°lai*, AV. *vidhakṣan parīñkhayātai*) RV AV. TA Many mss of AV *vidhakṣyan*, which is certainly intended

śardhāṁsy aṇe aṇarāṁ (SV. *aṇarasya*) *dhāl;alah* (ApS *dhāl;ya-*) RV SV. MS ApS See VV I p 29.

bhalṣo bhal;ṣyamānah (KS. *bhalṣa*°) VS KS So the single ms of KS, ed emends to *bhal;ya*°. If the ms. reading were kept we should have to assume a pple middle in form but passive in meaning *melṣyāmy ūrdhvas tiṣṭham* AV., so emended by RWh, all mss. *melṣāmy. yenāl;ṣā* (°*ṣyār*, etc) (see §330) In PG. *al;ṣār* is taken to be from *al;ṣi* 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption

§333. In one verb form the *y* appears after *t*, it may be regarded as belonging with the *l;ṣ* cases in view of §§182 ff :

tenārātsyam (GG ŚŚ MŚ °*sam*, so also p. p. of MS; most mss of MŚ °*syam* with MS text) MS ŚŚ MŚ. GG The proper form is *arātsam*, aorist; the conditional does not fit See VV I p 29.

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category:
ratho na vājam sanīṣyann (SV. °*ṣann*) *ayācit* RV SV. Clearly a phonetic slip in SV., making a sort of aorist pple.; Benfey, tho he interprets the form as aor, translates a future

ā rṣicyantām (AV *rṣicantām*) *aditaye durenāh* RV AV The AV. form is evidently a phonetic blunder, cf VV I pp 29, 51 f

§335. Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix *ya*, §§314 ff., we find the following cases of *y* present or absent after *l;ṣ*

dhuñṣūgneyī (VSK °*ṣyūgneyī* or °*ṣrūg*°) VS VSK MS · *agnaye dhuñṣā* (TS °*ṣnā*) TS KSA See §255

taralṣuh (KSA † °*ṣah*) *kṛṣṇah śrā caturālṣo* (KSA °*ṣyā*) *gardabhas tātarajanānām* TS KSA. The ed emends to *caturālṣo*, which seems necessary

al;ṣyos (mss *alṣos*) *tanro rapah* AV.

Cf further such mss readings as *vibhuñṣamāna* for *vibhuñṣya*° at Kauś 23 9, 38 26

§336. The other cases concern *y* present or absent after palatal consonants. Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root *ścut* (Wackernagel I p 268). The forms written with *ścyut* may be partly contaminated with *cyu*, indeed the mss also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful:

prasthitā vo madhuścutah (VSK MS °*ścyutah*) VS VSK MS TB So the editions But Poona ed of TB records a v. l °*ścyutah*; and per contra, all samhitā mss of MS read °*cyutah* or °*ścutah*.

sruṇā devam ghrtaścutā (KS and v l of MS °*ścyutā*) RV. TS. MS KS

ghṛtaścūto madhuścutah TS MS KS ŚB · *ghṛtaścyto madhuścyutah* VS MS So v l. and p. p of MS in the other passage. Moreover KS has v l *ghṛtacyuto*, and for *madhu*^o its two mss. read °ścyutah and °cyutah

dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat ApŚ: *prthivyām avacuścotatad* TB ApŚ : *yata ścutad dhutam agnāu tad astu* KŚ. : *yatra cuścutad agnāv evatad* MŚ. (but the latter is a dubious emendation, better, *yatra ścutad*): *yata ścutad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ See on this variant VV I p 139

§337. Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals:

viṣṇoh śnaptre (TS *śnyaptre*, MS *śipre*) *stihah* VS TS MS KS. ŚB KŚ ApŚ. The pronunciation of *n* after *ś* must have been approximately ñ, this is indicated by the TS variant (v l. and p p, however, *śnaptre*), so the Vyāsaśikṣā 248 prescribes (cf. Keith, *HOS* 18 xxxvii).

apāśnuṣṇṇ apā rakṣah (and, *apā ragham*) TA · *apāśnyuṣṇṇ* etc. TA. So, correctly, Poona ed *Aśn(y)uṣṇṇ* is an otherwise unknown epithet of Agni The comm explains only the form with *u*, monstrously: *aśnānām bhoktṛnām uṣṇṇr dāhako yo 'gmih* Cf *prec mano jyotir* (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *juṣalām ājyasya* (TS TB Vait *ājyam*, AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK. TS. MS KS TB ŚB. AŚ Vait LŚ. KŚ. *dvo jyote* (KS * °*ir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūle vivasvann*) . . . MS KS : *vivasvān aditir devajūlis* TS

mṛśase (SV *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV SV.

śyāmā sarūpamkaranī AV 1 24. 4a Here the Berlin ed reads *śāmā* with nearly all mss, but against comm, Ppp, and the evident sense, which demands *śyāmā*, see Whitney's note

Presence or absence of *y* before initial vowel

§338. To a considerable extent *y* is evanescent when unconnected with any consonant . That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases in which the *y*, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In either case the forms without *y* often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that *y* presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatusstilger', reminding us of the similar use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 31 The phenomena are, to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical changes; rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this:

agne akṣini (IG *agneyaḥṣini*) *nir daha svāhā* ApMB IG As Kirste observes, IG must intend *agne al°*, so that *y* is a simon-pure 'Hintustilger' and nothing else See also *anāmayaiddhi* etc, §344 §339. The cases of initial *y* are

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV °*nīlir*, KS °*dhīlam* and † °*nītha*, MS °*dhīla*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB *agne* is probably original; it is preceded by *r* or *m* in AV KS, by *e* in MS, the latter would be specially apt to lead to the development of initial *y*-

añjanā suprayasam (AVPpp *yūñjanā suprajāsam*) *pañca janāḥ* RV AVPpp MS See §192

ptevaldhi sūnava ā (MS *sūnave yah*) *susevah* VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ *devebhur aklam* (VS TS *yuklam*) *aditih sajoṣāḥ* VS TS MS KSA

kāṣṭhā aymeṣv (SV *yajñeṣv*) *atnata* RV SV A lect fac in SV

viśvakarmā vīmanā ād vihāyāḥ (KS °*nā yo vīyomā*, MS *vīmame yo vihāyāḥ*, TS *manasā yad vihāyāḥ*) RV. VS TS MS KS AŚ N *ameṣam asī svāhā* VS ŚB *yameṣam asī* (with or without *svāhā*) TS MS KS TB 'Sacrificed at home (to Yama)' Preceded by *asī* in all The preceding vowel *i* makes insertion or omission of *y* particularly easy

āśum jayantam any yāsu vardhase RV VS TS MS ŚB : *yā samjayanam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS The latter is doubtless secondary Preceded by *gūrā* KapS *āśram*, doubtless intending *āśum*

§340. In some instances case-forms of the relative stem *ya* exchange with similar forms of the demonstrative stem *a* This may be assumed to be partly due to the instability of initial *y*

trīṇśad yasyā (TB *asyā*) *jaḡhanam yojanānī* MS KS TB

asya (SV *yasya*) *te sahhye vāyam* RV SV

ghorā rṣayo namo astv ebhyah (MŚ *astv adya yebhyah*) AV TS MŚ *caḡṣur yad eṣām manasaś ca satyam* AV *caḡṣur yeṣām* (v l *hy eṣām*) *tapa uccabhitam* MŚ *caḡṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca samdhau* TS *yasyām* (v l *asyām*) *devā abhi samviśantah* MŚ Others with *tasyām*, see §281

§341. And the same with adverbial forms derived from the same stems

mitro no atra varuno yujyamānah AV *mitro yatra varuno ayyamānah* RV

Double case, the *y* of *yatra* seems as it were to jump the next word and attach itself to the participle in AV

yaded (KS *ād id*) *antā udadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛnh°*) *pūrve* RV VS TS MS KS This *pāda* precedes or (in KS) follows the next, the

words *yad* (*yadā*) and *ād* are transposed in KS. owing to the transposition of the two *pādas*

ād (KS *yad*) *id dyāvāpythivī aprathetām*, same texts See prec
athā (TB* *yathā*; AV MS TB* *yatra*) *devaḥ sadhamādani madema*
(AV *madanti*, comm *madema*) AV MS KS, TB. (all three) ApŚ

Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB

yathā (RV. *atho*, VS ŚB *athā*) *na* (RV. *ta*) *indrah keralih* (VS TS ŚB.
indra id viśah) RV. AV. VS TS. KS ŚB.

yathainam jarase nayāt AV.: *athainam jarimā nayet* HG.

Cf. also: *yasya* (*vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* etc., §363, and *yasyām idam*
viśvam (*viśvam hy asyām*) etc., §386

§342. Less common is the second class of cases, in which *y* in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with *y* is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the *y* is more often secondary, namely in the following group:

varśvānaram ṛta ā (TS *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnīm* RV. SV. VS. TS MS. KS
PB. ŚB 'Born for the *ṛta*' is obviously secondary.

sudevam indre asvinā (MS *indrāyāśu*) VS MS TB As in the last,
a dative is substituted for a locative, both depend on *dadhuh*
in the context.

sahasrākṣo (VSK TS. KS *°kṣa*) *medhāya* (TS. KS *medha ā*) *cīyamānah*
VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB 'For (at) the sacrifice'; the latter
probably original. Keith on TS. 4. 2 10 1 translates 'for'; his
text seems to require 'at'.

graha viśvajānina nyanantar viprāyāma te (MS *p p viprāya*, male; KS.
nyanantar vipra ā ṛsatī) MS KS As in prec, a loc with *ā* varies
with a dat

yo gopā apī (TB *gopāyati*) *tam huve* RV. AV TB ApŚ.

ta ā vahanti (MS. *tayāvahante*, KS *ta ā vahanti*) *kavayah purastāt* TS
MS KS TB See Keith on TS. 1 1. 2 1 The original reading
probably in TS; Keith thinks that MS may intend the same, with
tay for *te*, altho its Brāhmana explains *tayā* as referring to the
dhiṣṇā

datto asmabhyam (KS. *dattvāyāśma*°, AŚ. *dattāyāśma*°, corrupt for
dattvā°, SMB. *dattāśma*°) *dravineha bhādrām* AV. KS AŚ SMB.:
dadhatha no dravnam yac ca bhādrām MS. See §367.

māhyam vālah pavalām (KS °te) *kāme asmān* (AV *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV AV TS KS

§343. In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting *y*, and leaving hiatus secondarily.

vāvakayā yaś (TS *pāvaka ā*) *ctayantyā krpā* RV VS MS KS ŚB

Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 453

vāhi gāyāndhaso (SV. *gā andh°*) *made* RV SV The RV has a regular 2d sing impv pres from *gai*, the SV an aor inj, *gās* Add to VV I §158

pāteva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma emam*) MS KS ApMB HG The MS *p p* reads *jarasena*, *ā*, *imam*, corruptly pointing to the reading of the other texts

§344. Consider also the following peculiar case.

amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ† *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG. *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB : *anāmayaedhi mā riṣāma indo* Kauś The mss of Kauś read *anāmayaedhi*, the emended °*yaidhi* is supposed to contain double sandhi, for °*ya(h) edhi* 'be free from disease' But the Kauś reading may really intend *amā ma(y) edhi*, like AŚ ŚG. with 'Hiatusstilger' *y* as in §338 See Bloomfield's Introduction, p. lviii, and cf §78

§345. We have now considered the cases of plus or minus *y* which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal *y* is concerned. There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems *ta* and *tya* The more archaic *tya* is generally the original, but twice it replaces *ta* in secondary texts *yad dha syā* (AV *sā*) *te panīyasī* RV. AV SV TS MS KS

mayi tyad (MS *tad*) *indriyam brhat* (KS TB TA *mahat*, MS. *vīryam*) VS MS. KS TB ŚB. TA AŚ ŚŚ Pratīka in MŚ *mayi tyad* (so Knauer, but mss mostly *tād*)

yathā ha tyad (TS ApŚ HG *tad*) *vasavo gauryam c.i* TS MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ HG TA AŚ ŚŚ

ā nu tac (SV *tyac*) *chardho divyam vṛnūmahe* RV SV.

prati te (AV *tye*) *te ajarāsas tapisthāh* RV AV

ud ut te vasuntlamāh ApŚ *ud u tye* (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ

§346. Other lexical variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few

peśasvatī tantunā samvayanī (KS TB °*vyayanī*) MS KS TB Roots *vā* and *vyā*

endram vagnunā vahata PB. *vagnunendram hwayata* TB ApŚ (with metathesis of *h*)

§347. We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated:

susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi ŚŚ : *suśadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV. Berlin ed., violently emending the mss which agree precisely with ŚŚ but for the slight corruptions *gavom* and *sudasi* *vidad gavyam saramā dṛdham ūrvam* (TB. *ūrvyam*) RV TB But Poona ed. of TB has the correct *ūrvam*, text and comm, without *v* *salāsati* (comm. *satyasati*) *prajāpatih* TB But Poona ed comm. *salāsati*.

hiranyavad annavad dhehi (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ The corruption may be graphic in nature *prayapsyann iva sakthiyau* (TB. text *sakthau*) TB ApŚ But Poona ed text and comm. *sakthiyau*, the only possible reading.

oṣiṣṭhahanam śīṅgīnkoṣyābhyām (TA *kośābhyām*) TS TA : *vasiṣṭhahanuh śīṅgīni koṣyābhyām* VS Poona ed of TA *koṣyā* *ayoddheva* (TB *dhyeva*) *durmada ā hi juhve* RV. TB. Tho Poona ed. has the same reading, it is surely corrupt; perhaps graphic. The comm has the same, but explains it as tho *ayoddhā-iva*

3 Presence or absence of *r*

§348. Owing to the rarity of *r* in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance; that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms. It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause. The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with *y*.

§349. We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots; and first, *śravas* and *śavas* and related words. *śūro nṛṣālā śavasā* (SV MS *śra*) *cakānah* (SV. *ca* *†kāme*) RV. SV. TS MS.

grnānāh śravase (SV. *śa*) *mahe* RV. SV.

satrā dadhānam apratiṣkutam śavānsi (SV. *śravānsi bhūri*) RV. AV. SV. TB

ā yo viśvāni śavasā (SV *śra*) *tatāna* RV. AV. SV

śraviṣṭhāh stha MS KS *śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāh* VS ŚB

§350. The roots *dhā* and *dhṛ* and the like, in virtual synonyms.

sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe (SV. *dadhriṣe*) RV SV

vṛṣā dharmāni dadhiṣe (SV *dadhriṣe*) RV SV TS. MS KS ApŚ

yo nah pitā janitā yo vidhātā (MS. *vidhartā*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ.

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samdṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS

dāvyaḍya dhartre joṣṭre (MS *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

devayor dharme (MS °mā, AV *dhāmann*) *asthīran* AV TS MS KS

kṣayasyāsi vidhatah (SV *vidhartā*) RV SV Here *vidhatah* from root *vidh*

§351. Roots *pū* and *pr*

atirātram vavarṣvān pūrta rāvat (KS *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*, TS *varṣan pūrtir āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS MS KS

apālām indra (MG *indras*) *triṣ* (ApMB MG *trah*) *pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, MG *pūrtvy a°*, ApMB *pūrtvy a°*) RV AV JB ApMB MG

§352. Roots *prī* and *pā*

śvātrāh pūtā (ViDh *snātāh prūtā*) *bhavata yūyam āpah* VS ŚB KŚ ViDh. *pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān* (AV °tu *payasvān*) AV AŚ ŚŚ

Comm on AV *prayasvān*

§353. Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words; in the first case *r* possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatusstilger'

ahim budhnyam (TS °nyam) *anu rīyamānāh* (TS *samcarantīh*, MS KS *anv īyamānāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms, note that *r* is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary, a sort of 'Hiatusstilger'? *r* is used in this way in Pāli

antarikṣe pathibhir īyamānah (GB *hrīyamānah*, so Gaastra without the *v* l *hīyamānah* recorded in Bibl Ind ed.) RV GB The AVPPP 1. 107. 4 (Barret, JAOS 26 290) has the RV reading, GB perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary Note the final *r* of the preceding word

vanasade (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *vet* (TS MS *vat*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §650

mā twam hārṣīh śrutam mayi PG. *śrutam me mā pra hārṣīh* RVKh 'Take away'. 'abandon'

purā jatrubhya (TA ApMB *jatṛbhya*, MS *cakṛbhya*, p p *vaktṛbhya*) *ātṛdah* (MS °da) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB Comm on TA tries to derive its corrupt form from root *jar* (*jṛ*)

vikṛda (KS °da, VS. °dra, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS See §168

ya rte (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rte*, PB † *yakṣate*) *cid abhiśṛṣah* RV AV SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB *jari cetid abhiśṛṣah* MS (corrupt, see §193)

jāgrtsyas (mss, v l *yā gr°*) *tripañcāsīh* AV *yā(h) kṛcchrās tri°* AVPPP See §§185, 192

śunam ma iṣam śunam śāntam (p p. *śrāntam*) . . MS : *svam ma* (AB *ma idam*) *iṣam* . . *svam śrāntam* (TB text *śrātam*, Poona ed. *śrāntam*) . . . AB. TB. ApŚ. : *svam ma iṣam astu śunam śāntam* . . KS

hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm (KS *bṛhaspatim*) . . *śronitah* (KS *śonitāś*; Conc. suggests reading *śro*°) . . VS KS

prthivi bhūvarī (KS *vibhū*°) *sinīvāly urandhra* (KS *uramdha*) *ūcitle* . .

KS ApŚ An obscure epithet of earth; perhaps belongs in §350.

agne 'dabdhāyo 'śritatano pāhi vidyot KS : *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śritatano pāhi mādyā dvah* . TS TB ApŚ : *agne 'dabdhāyo 'śritama pāhi mā didyoh* VS ŚB. In KS, apparently the original, 'having uninjured body'; TS, 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect fac VS has a further change, by haplology, and is really uninterpretable; comm either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR. and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory

vi jihīṣva lokam kṛnu AV. : *vi jihīṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA The AV. is original: 'go apart (root *hā*), make room' TA. comm. takes it as desiderative from *hr* (*vihartum icha*), which would require *jihīṣvasva anādhrīṣam sahasyam* (TS KS. *sahasriyam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS AŚ "Thousandfold mighty", probably original: 'powerful and mighty', lect fac

yo agnīḥ kravyavāhanah (VS KS *kavya*°) RV. VS. KS AŚ . *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS. Euphemistic change of *kravya*° to *kavya*°.

yata āltas (AŚ *ārtitas*) *tad agan punah* TS. AŚ 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned' AŚ mere blunder or misprint

prati vāstor aha (AV.* *ahar*) *dyubhiḥ* RV. AV. (both) SV. ArŚ VS KS. ŚB. *praty asya vaha dyubhiḥ* TS The comm on AV. has *aha*; *ahar* is a blunder suggested by *dyubhiḥ*

apām tvā sadhiṣi (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS. ŚB *sadhiṣ-i*, 'in the seat'; *sadhriṣu* ('mere blunder', Keith on TS 4 3. 1. 1) perhaps with thought of RV. *sadhri*

anābho mṛda dhūrta (MS °te, v. 1 °ta) MS MŚ : *anārbhava mṛda* KS ApŚ See §749

śam no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo RV GB AŚ Vait MŚ According to Gaastra, all his mss read *indro* for *indo*, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing *indo* in his text

ā na indra (and, *indo*) *mahīm iṣam* RV (both)

vyrdhyā apagalbham (TB *apra*°, but Poona ed text and comm *apa*°) VS TB Probably mere misprint.

potrāgnīdhro (read with Gaastra *potū°*) *nihitam pādām ekam* GB

§354. The following involve different word-divisions:

yasya (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim pahireto grbhāya* (ApMB HG *prati ret*
grhāna) ŚG HG ApMB

āyuhpati rathamāram (MŚ *āyuh prathirath°*) *tad aśiya* etc ApŚ MŚ
The latter corrupt.

yenā bhūyaś (PG *bhūriś*) *carāty* (MS *caraty*) *ayam* (AG *ca rātryām*,
corrupt; PG *carā divam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61

tan mā jinva (KS *mārjivā*) TS MS KS 'Quicken me' 'cleansing it'
sa vah sarvāh sam carati prajānan AV.: *sarvāh sarvā* (p p. *sah*, *sarvāh*)
vi caratu prajānan MS The latter carelessly assimilates to the
following *sarvāh*

mā mā yūnarvā hāsī (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms
obscure

agnir hotrenedam (ŚŚ *hotrena*) *havr ajuṣata* MS ŚŚ *agnihotrenedam*
havr . TB AŚ But *agnir ho°* must certainly be read in all
texts, with Poona ed of TB

ud vanṣam wa yemire RV. SV TS KB N : *ūrdhvam kham wa menure*
Mbh

§355. In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or
consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically.

ūrdhvacitah (MS KS *°śritah*) *śrayadhvam* VS. TS MS KS ŚB TA
See §195

svām tanvam (*tanuvam*) *varuno 'suṣot* (TS TB *asīśret*) TS MS KS TB.
See §287.

pred u harivah śrutasya (SV *sutasya*) RV. SV TS See §278

trīṣug (AŚ *trīśrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me vibhātu*)
KS TB TA AŚ See §145

śivā rutasya (TS. and v 1 of MS *rudrasya*, VSK *śiva rtasya*) *bheṣajī*
(MS. *°jā*) VS. VSK TS MS KS See §684

apṛītapā ādhūyamānah TS *viṣnur āprīlapā āpyāyyamānah* VS 'Drinker
of unpurified (soma)'. 'protecting when propitiated (?)'

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ApŚ ŚŚ
See §228

amoci (AV *amulthā*) *yakṣmād durtād avarityai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV PB
ApMB See §60

anu daha sahamūrān kravyādah (SV *layādah*) RV SV : *sahamūrān*
anu daha kravyādah AV Benfey explains the SV form as from
kaya = *kāya* + *ad*, 'body-eating' This would imply metric
shortening of *ā* to *a* There may be involved euphemistic avoidance
of the word *kravyād*, as in *kravyavāhana kavya°*, §353

ā sutrāṇe (MS KS *bhūyīṣṭhadāṇe*) *sumatim āvrnānah* AV MS. KS ·
oṣīṣṭhadāṇe sumatim grnānāh TS It is likely that the original
form was *āsutrāṇe*, cf. Whitney on AV. 19. 42. 3 The TS. form,
tho impeccable, is secondary

§356. Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of *r* in formative
elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion:
ghṛtam duhata (RV * *duhrata*) *āśīram* RV. (both) SV See *RVRep*
137, 562, and VV I p 169.

te dakṣinām duhate (AV *te duhrate dakṣinām*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV.
See VV I, 1 c

utainam (NīlarU *uta tvā*) *gopā adṛśan* (TS NīlarU *adṛśan*) VS TS
MS KS NīlarU See VV I p 170 Followed by·

adṛśann (TS † *adṛśann*) *udadhāryah* VS. TS See *ibid*
apa snehitṛ (SV *snīhutim*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS † *nṛma-*
nām adadrām) RV AV SV KS : *upa stuhī* (Poona ed *snuhī*)
tam nṛmnām athadrām TA See §110, and VV I p 170

sarasvatyā (AV **yām*) *adhī manāv* (KS *mānā*, v l *manā*, SMB *vanāva*,
but Jorgensen *manāv*, AV. *manāv*) *acarkṣuh* (KS and SMB
Jorg *acark*°, SMB Conc *carkṛdhī*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB.
PG The KS also has v l *acark*°, which perhaps should be read
thruout Jorgensen assumes dissimilation, see VV I p 149.

Compare further variants between the verbal endings *-re* and *-rīre*,
VV I p 170, and *ghṛtam mīmīkṣe* (TA **kṣire*) *ghṛtam aya yonih* RV
VS TA, *ibid* p 214

§357. Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or
inflexional syllables of nouns These cases belong to noun formation or
inflexion It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those
listed first—the *r*, when present, follows a consonant group In these,
especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected, cf.
the similar cases with *y*, §§314–5, 321–2, and our chapter on Consonant
Groups below

bhūrī śastam (SV *śastram*) *pṛthuh svaruh* RV. SV VS Synonyms,
but here the form without *r* is older

atvīddhā vithurenā cid astrā (MS *astāh*) RV MS KS The MS is
secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption
na kīr devā mīmīmasī RV *na kī devā mīmīmasī* SV Anomalous reduc-
tion of *na-kīr* to *na-kī*

sūro rathasya naptiyah (ArŚ *naptiyah*, TB *naptriyah*) RV AV ArŚ
KS TB Feminine stems *naptī* and *naptṛī*, the latter influenced
by *naptar*

tvaṣṭimāṭi (TA Conc *tvaṣṭrī*°, which is a v. l. in Poona ed, its text *tvaṣṭī*°) *te sapeya* TS ApŚ TA : *tvaṣṭmantas* (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭrī*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tā sapema* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The MS MŚ ApŚ forms are Prakritic in vocalism In the Tait school form, which concerns us here, the stem *tvaṣṭr* is, as it were, feminized Add to VV I §345

praty elā vāmā . . . *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ °*vakta*, v. l °*vaktar*) *ulā* KB ŚŚ *praty elā sunvan* . . . *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar ulā* . AŚ The form can only be construed as nom , °*vakta*, if it is intended, must stand for °*vaktā* with partial sandhi (*ā* shortened, §991) But it looks as if all texts intended °*vaktar* Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ , p 252 note, suggests that *ru* is a bad writing for *u*, but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error Is *r* a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatusilger, as in Pāli? Cf. the first variant in §353. Or is °*vaktar* used as nom ? Cf the nom neut (?) forms in *-tari*, Wackernagel III p 205 supra

viśvā amītrāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣibhiḥ (KS °*ṣebhyah*) AV. KS : *viśvā āsāḥ pramuñcān mānuṣīr bhūyah* VS TS See §783

vapṭā (ApMB *vaptrā*, HG MG *vaplar*) *vapasī* (PG °*tī*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG PG. MG *keśān*) AV. AG PG ApMB HG MG *vaptrā* is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait . *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB Synonyms

matyayī śrūtāya (mahe śrōtrāya) cakṣase AV. (both)

gharmanī pāta śasavo yajata (TA °*tā*, MS. °*trā*) *vāḥ* (MS *veḥ*, TA. *vaḥ*) VS MS TA. ŚB *yajata* (°*tā*) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'.

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB HG See §818

agner agneyāny (KS. *agniyāny*) *asī* (one ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asī*) MS KS.: *devānām agneyāny asī* TS : *agner yāny asī* TS. MS KS ApŚ MŚ *agneyānī*, certainly the true reading of TS and probably of MS , is a curious tatpuruṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case KS has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary.

bṛhaspatistutasya (TS MS add *ta*, VS VSK. ŚB add *deva soma ta*) *inda* (TS *indo*, VS ŚB *indor*) *indriyūñtataḥ* . . . VS VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB Gen . *ioc*

sa rśīdūr (KS. °*cī*) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tūcīḥ* (KS °*cī*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The KS changes an accus plur, with which a noun has to be

supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *rodasī* in the preceding *pāda*. *devī dvārau* (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samlāptam* TS. AŚ.Vait. Cf. prec., and §732.

asmadrātā madhumatīr (KS °tī) . . . MS KS ŚŚ. and others, §800. *gaurīr* (°rī) *mimāya* . . . , see §545.

4 Presence or absence of *v*

§358. Doublets with or without *v* seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf. Wackernagel I §232c). Among the variants they are fairly numerous. Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which *v* is initial before a vowel. Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound *v*, as in the case of *y* (§§338-44), and to a much slighter extent *r* (§353). As with those sounds, however, the form with *v* is not by any means always secondary in text history

v initial before a vowel

§359. Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words *ṛṣabha* and *vrṣabha*, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale. In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with *v* when the last word ends in a vowel. But this is by no means universal.

vrṣabhena (TS ṛṣ°) *waṣṭā* TS KS. This is an instructive case; it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS, in a consonant in TS. We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS begins with *v*-.

vatso vrājo vrṣabho matinām AV. *pitā vrājām ṛṣabho rayīnām* TB. Observe that *ṛṣ*- is preceded by a final *-m*, *vrṣ*- by a final vowel. It is as if *v* shifted to *m* (§236).

vrṣabhena (TS ṛṣ°) *gāh* (KS *gāvah*) TS KS. KSA. The single ms of KSA has corruptly *aśvā-vṛṣa*°, which Von Schroeder emends to *aśvān vr*°, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS reading (*aśvān ṛṣ*°) should be adopted.

vrṣabham (VS * ṛṣ°) *naryāpasam* RV. AV. SV. VS (both) MS TB. Here preceded by a consonant.

ṛṣabhāya (MS *vrṣ*°) *gavayī* (TS. KSA *rājñe gavayah*) VS TS. MS KSA. A consonant precedes.

ṛṣabho (KS *vr*°) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS MS. KS TB. A consonant precedes.

vr̥ṣabho 'sī *svargah* AV *r̥ṣabho* 'sī *svargo lokah* TB Initial in verse
kakubham (VSK TS ApŚ °ham) *rūpam vr̥ṣabhasya* (KS *rūpam r̥ṣ°*)
rocate bṛhat (VSK *bṛhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
astabhñād dyām, vr̥ṣabho (TS MS *dyām r̥ṣ°*) *antarīkṣam* RV VS TS
 MS ŚB TB KŚ
bṛhad r̥ṣabham (TB *vr̥°*, but Poona ed text and comm *r̥°*) *gām vayo*
dadhat VS TB
śākvarā (LŚ *ye śāk°*) *r̥ṣabhā* (AV *vr̥ṣ°*) *ye svarājah* AV LŚ Note the
 vowel preceding
rathe akṣeṣu r̥ṣabhasya (KS TB °ṣu *vr̥°*, so AV comm, and so Ppp
 intends, Barret, JAOS 30 204) *vāje* AV KS TB *ratheṣu akṣeṣu*
vr̥ṣabharājāh ViDh

§360. There are no other forms with and without *v* that are precisely identical in meaning. But we find a considerable number of other cases of presence or absence of initial *v* before a vowel, in many of which the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho lexical considerations always play their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary, reversing the direction of the process.

te arṣantu te varṣantu. LŚ *te varṣantu te varṣayantu* AV Roots
arṣ 'rush' and *varṣ* 'rain'. One is inclined to suspect assimilation to the following *varṣ-* in AV

r̥jūle (KS *vr̥j°*) *pari vr̥ndhi nah* RV VS TS MS KSA ApŚ Initial
 in the verse. Von Schroeder says on KSA, 'wohl fehlerhaft für
r̥jūle'. Perhaps assimilated to the following *vr̥ndhi*

śalmalir vr̥ddhyā (KSA *r̥ddhyā*) VS TS KSA ŚB Synonyms

agne vājagād vājam tvā VS ŚB TB Vait ApŚ *ājim tvāgne* MŚ

Synonyms since earliest times. Note preceding vowel before *vāja°*
varenyakratūr (AV °tur, ApŚ *idenya°*) *āham* RVKh AV ApŚ *vīre-*
nyah kratur indrah suśastih RV

hṛtsu kratum varuno (MS °nam) *vikṣu* (RV *apsu*, MS *duṣu*) *agnim*
 RV VS † TS † MS KS ŚB † For the RV original is substituted
vikṣu after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatusliger' *v* and other
 phonetic changes (cf especially §153a). On MS see §869 (a
 further, graphic change)

taḍ āyuh (ApŚ *vāyuh*) MS KS ApŚ 'That is life (wind, breath)'
asum (AV TS *vasum*) *gharman divam* (VS *sva*) *ā tṣīḥatānu* (AV
rohatānu) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *asu* 'life' *vasu* 'weal' (with
 ungrammatical *m*), preceded by vowel, *asu* is original, as shown by
 RV 10 14 12, 15 1 (cf 10 15 9, 10)

devā gātuvīdo gātum viltvā (VSK. *gātum itvā*) *gātum ita* AV VS VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB TB Cf. *gātum viltvā gātum ihi* MS ApŚ; *devā gātuvīdo* (MŚ adds *gātum viltvā*) *gātum yajñāya vīdata* . TB ApŚ MŚ 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original; VSK. assimilates to the following *ita*

ive iṣah (KS *viśve*, MS *iva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrvāpasah* (TS † *bhūri-retasah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB On MS see §694. KS clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic *v* between vowels

dhiṣane vīdū (VS VSK *vidvī*, KS. *vīle*, MS MŚ *īdite*) *satī* (MS. KS. MŚ omī) *vidayethām* (MS MŚ *īdelhām*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ See §169

tigmam anīkam vīdatam sahasvat AV *tigmam āyudham vīdatam* (KS *°dham īdatam*) *sahasvat* TS MS KS. 'Implored' of KS. is secondary to 'strong'; AV is still farther afield, see §169

yo antaro mitramāho vanuṣyāt (KS *anu°*) RV KS. ApŚ. 'Who . . fights against us' KS seems to feel a form from *anu* + *as*, as in English slang, 'who is after us' Reverse of 'Hiatusulger'. KapŚ *vanuṣyā*.

namo vīdhryāya (MS *vīdhryāya*, p p *vīdhryāya*, TS *nama īdhryāya*) *cātapyāya ca* VS TS MS KS Both forms are obscure; TS probably secondary See Keith's note

iśāna imā bhuvanāni vīyase (SV *īyase*) RV SV. Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV, reverse of 'Hiatusulger' with a vengeance!

māhva dyaur adha (AV *vadha*) *īmanā* RV AV *vadhatmānā* (sic) not divided in p p, and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption, he translates the RV. Still, the AV may be rendered: 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'

ahar (MS *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS *divyābhir*) *ūtibhir* VS MS. ŚB. TA ŚŚ LŚ *ahar*, adverb. 'by day' One ms of MS. with p p *vahad* (*d* or *d* for *r*, §§272, 272a); preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatusulger'.

viśām vavarjūnām (AV. *viśām avar°*) RV AV. The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the *barhus*)', Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35 275 The AV. uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation; the initial *a-* must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (*vṛj* = *pari-vṛj* as in Classical Skt.). Cf Whitney ad loc. The retention of the perfect pple. form shows the badness of the AV.

mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV · *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma*
RV Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'

abhūr āpīnām (HG °nām; AV mss *v āpī°*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV °pā u)
AV HG. ApMB Others, §46

ramayata (KS °iā) *marutah śyenam āyinaṃ* (MŚ *marutah pretam*
vāyinaṃ) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

mā tvā ke cin ni (AV *cid tvā*) *yemur im* (SV *cin ni yemur in*, TA *cin*
nyemur in) *na pāśinah* RV SV AV VS TA *im*, acc of *vi*,
secondarily reduced to the particle *in* (id)

vidvīr yāmann avarḥayan VS *vidvīr yāman vavardḥayan* TB (Conc)
But Poona ed of TB has correctly *yāmann avar°*

§361. In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial *v*
(after a vowel, 'Hiatusstilger') is felt as containing the preposition *ava*
pro ārata (TB. 'vārata) *maruto durmadā iva* RV. TB 'Rush along,
Maruts, like madmen' Comm on TB *avārata dhāvata*

uruṣya rāya eṣo (VSK *rāyo 'veṣo*, i e *ava*, iṣo, TS MS KS *rāyah sam*
iṣo) *yajasva* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB *ava-yaḥ* 'remove by sacrifice'
with object *iṣo*, is peculiarly inept

§362. A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this
category, altho the *v*, when found, is not initial in its word.

agninendrena somena upa te huve savāham (KSA *huve 'sā aham*)
TS KSA 'I summon for thee, O offering' 'I, so and so (*asau*
'N N'), summon for thee' If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA
is original, the TS reading uses *v* as a sort of 'Hiatusstilger', yielding
a different lexical result The same with *brāhmanān ṛtvijo devān*
. , *iṣṭena pakvam* . , *devān sendrān*

añlāñlam (MS *añkāv-añlam*, so divided in p p, KS *añlāñlam*)
chandaḥ VS TS MS KS ŚB Nothing is known of the original
form or meaning of this word (said by comms to mean 'water'),
note the curious KS variant, with short *a* It may be that MS
has a kind of 'Hiatusstilger' with its *v*

v initial before a consonant

§363. So far initial *v* before a vowel In a few cases the same *v*
appears or disappears before an initial consonant

reṣīnām (VS ŚB *vre°*) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS MS KS ŚB MŚ .

reṣiṣu (sc *te śukra śukram ādhūnomi*) TS An epithet of water, of
unknown etymology and meaning, *v-* presumably unoriginal
agne yajasva (AV *vyajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV AV MS See §57.

apāvṛṇod duro aśmavrajānām (MS *asmaḍ-rathānām*, p p *asmīn*, *ra°*)
RV MS TA · The MS is hardly interpretable.

yasya (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto grhāna* (ŚG *patireto grbhāya*)
 ŚG. ApMB. HG. Cf §354. *vy asya* 'open' must be intended;
yasya makes no sense.

v not initial

§364. Coming to non-initial *v*, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes *sva-* and *sa-* vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with *su-*, see §§612 and 741:

satavasemam (KS *sva*°) *yajñam divi devēsu dhātām* MS. KS TB.

sūro na svayugvabhīh (SV *sayu*°) RV. SV.

viśvā dveṣānsi tarati svayugvabhīh (SV. *sayu*°) RV. SV. Better meter in RV. (anapest after cesura)

indra svayugbhīr matsveha (ApŚ *sayugbhīr didyun na matsvā madāya*)
mahe ranāya AV ApŚ

yajño bhūtvā yajñam āsīda . *saḥsaya* (MŚ. *svaḥsaya*) *ehi* TB ApŚ MŚ.

§365. There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in *tv-* and forms of the demonstrative stem *ta-*. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a *tv-* form and the enclitic *te* (2d person), and between *kva* and *lā* (both from the interrogative stem):

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it RV.: *tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam*
it SV. KS TB ApŚ Followed by:

tam in mahe vṛnate nānyam tva RV: *tvām maho vṛnate* (TB. ApŚ.
vṛnate naro) *nānyam tva*, same texts

tam (TA. *tvam*) *u nīr vāpayā punah* RV. TA

tvām (MS *tām*) *śaśvaṇta* (MS °*lā*) *upa yanti vājāh* RV. SV. VS. TS MS
 KS.

paramān tam (TB ApŚ *tvā*) *parāvatam* AV TB ApŚ

etat tvātra pratimanvāno (AŚ °*vanvāno*) *asmī* (AŚ *†asmīn*) VS. AŚ ŚŚ
 Wait: *etat tān pratimanvāno asmīn* LŚ.

yā tām rātrīm upāśmahe PG: *yām tvā rātry upāśmahe* (TS *upāsate*,
 SMB *rātra yajāmahe*) AV. TS SMB.: *ye tvā rātry* (MG *rātrīm*)
upāsate KS MG

tvam gopāya MG: *tam gopāya* etc, see Conc

prajāyay mṛtyave tvat (TA *tat*) RV TA Here the stem *tva-* is not the 2d personal pronoun

tayānantam (MŚ *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ *lokam*) *aham jayānī* (MŚ °mī) AŚ † ŚŚ. ApŚ MŚ ApMB

tayā (ApMB *tvayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB °ti, v 1 °tu) ApMB HG

tayāham (MS *tvayā*°) *śāntyā śāntīm haromī* MS TA . *tābhīh śāntībhīh śamayāmy aham* AV

tvayā (TAA 10 1 9 *tayā*) *halena pāpena* TA TAA † MahānU

yajuryuktam sāmabhr āktakham tvā (MS *ṛktakham tā*) MS TA The words are bad enough in either case MS p p *ṛkta-khām, tā*, making *tā* an independent enclitic, *ṛktakham* is not in any lexicon But *āktakham* is little better TA comm *āktāny āpyāyātīnī khānīndriyāny avayavā yasya pravargyasya* so 'yam āktakhas tādṛśam, sāmāgānena hi pravargya āpyāyito bhavati (1)—Boehlingk, p w 2 293, 'dessen Buchse geschmiert ist'

purāṣ tvā (ŚŚ *purastāt*) *sarve kurmahe* AB ŚŚ Here *-tāt* is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun The sense requires object *tvā* Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff) in the secondary ŚŚ *yat tvemahe* (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV TS MS. Kauś SMB PG ApMB All mss and comm. of SMB agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading Comm, unbelievably *te tvām* (1) *yat phalam mahe* (1) *tan no* 'smabhyam juṣasva prayachety arthah.

kva (SV *kā*) *pratnā va āhutaḥ* RV SV

§366 Further, *v* is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without *v* Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf VV I p 121

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS *rana*, MS *ranv*) VS TS MS KS ŚB (In MS *rane* is a noun)

āpas tvā sam arinan (MS *arinvan*) VS MS ŚB . *āpah sam arinan* TS KS

manasī (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham* RV VS MS KS ŚB N See VV I pp 76, 121

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated.

jananta (SV *jinvanta*) *uśaso bhagam* RV SV

§367. Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal *tvā* (*tvī*) and other forms lacking *v*, but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption

asya pīlā (SV *pīlvā*) *svarīdah* RV SV. Lect. fac in SV for *pīlā*, loc sing of *pīh*, 'in the drinking of it'

yenendro haviṣā kṛtvī (ApMB *kṛtī*) RV. ApMB The ApMB form (v l *kṛtvī*) may be interpreted as nom sg of *kṛtin*, but is doubtless corrupt It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff), the next word begins with *a-*, and the actual reading is *kṛ(v)y-a-*.

datto asmaḥyam (KS *dattvāyāsmā*°, AŚ *dattāyāsmā*°, corrupt for *dattvā*°, SMB. *dattāsmā*°) *dravineha bhadrām* AV KS AŚ SMB : *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadrām* MS 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity'

hotā viṣṭimena (ŚŚ *viṣṭī me*) *jarītar* AV 20. 135 5, AŚ † 8 3 24, ŚŚ Vait This pāda is omitted in the Berlin ed of AV and therefore in Conc Most ŚŚ mss *viṣṭī*, per contra, v l of AV *viṣṭī*. It is very obscure in any case

daśasyantāmṛtāya (ApMB **tvāmṛtāya*) *lam* RV. ApMB The ApMB. form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's pple, but may fairly be called corrupt, cf Winternitz, p xx

yuktā (TB. Conc *yuktā*, Poona ed text and comm correctly *yuktā*) *harī vṛṣanā yāhy arvān* (MS KS *arvāh*) RV MS KS TB

apālām indra (MG. **ras*) *triṣ* (*trih*) *pūtvī* (AV. **vā*, ApMB *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrtī a-*) RV AV. JB ApMB MG The last seems clearly corrupt [*īndrah pāṣena ṣṣktvā vah* ApMB. *īndrah pāṣena vah ṣṣktvā* (so intended, see Index of Words) HG. *īndrapāṣena sīvā* PG The true reading is *sīvā*]

§368. A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes.

madhvo (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV SV These alternative forms of gen sing of *madhu* occur frequently in the pairs *madhvah-madhoh*, see Conc p. 681a

ed u madhvo (SV PB *madhor*) *madintaram* RV AV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ *vaso vasvoh purusprah* RV. *vasor vaso purusprah* SV

asammṛṣto jāyase mātroh (TB *mātrvoh*) *śucih* RV TB With *mātrvoh*, guaranteed by all mss and Vaidikas, cf perhaps *pūrvya*, and note that *mātroh* in RV. is trisyllabic

mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām SV. *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS Root *gah*, with different suffixes

gambhīraḥ pathibhah pūrvyah (AV. *pūryānāh*) AV. TS HG The AV is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification Cf next

prehu-prehu pathibhīh pūrvyebhīh (AV *pūryānāh*) RV AV MS. AŚ.
AG Cf prec

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG. *aprajāstvam mātṛavatsam* AV.
Others, §650 Suffixes *tā* and *tva*

§369. Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which cf Wackernagel I §232c:

saumyās trayah śvītūṃgāh (KSA *śi°*) TS KSA

With *śvit-* and *śit-*, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous *cit-*, see §195

citra (VS *śvitra*) *ādityānām* VS MS.

citro (AV *śvitro*) *rakṣitā* AV MS.

§370. After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff. below.

śīṣṭe śṛṅge rakṣase (AV *raṣṣobhyo*) *vi nīkṣe* (KS *naḥṣe*, AV mss *nīḥṣe*), RV. AV. TS MS KS The Berlin ed and Whitney's translation adopt the RV. reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm that the superfluous *v* is *chāndasa* See Whitney's note, which points out that *vinīkṣva* occurs in the next verse

dhūnīkṣāgneyī (VSK. °*svā°* or °*ṣyā°*) VS VSK MS And others, see §255.

svaṣṣām (TB *suvar°*) *apsām* (TB Poona ed, twice, *ṭapsvām*, in text and comm) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV VS MS TB. *apsvām* is uninterpretable

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS *dhana°*, TS °*yīd*, KSA °*yed*) *dhūmagandhīh* RV VS TS MS KSA The text of MS is based on p p, the saṁh mss are all corrupt but have *v* in place of *dh* (*tvāgnir vunaivddhamagandhir*). It seems that *vu* in these mss is a graphic corruption for *dhva*, which should probably be read in MS as in the other texts

§371. After or before single consonants; a miscellaneous group

āpo devīh svadantu (VSK *sad°*) *svāttam cit sad devahavīh* VS VSK ŚB : *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīh svadantu* MS : *svāttam cit sadavam havyam āpo devīh svadataṁnam* TS ApŚ The reading of VSK is poor (cf *svāttam*). Cf. next

em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu (MS *svad°*) MS KS TB Here *svad°* does not belong, the reverse of the prec

aparīhvṛtāh (MS °*hṛtāh*) *sanuyāma vājam* RV. MS KS Intended for synonyms; MS. slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption

tuvidyumnām vibhvasāham (SV. *vibhā°*) RV SV *vibhā* 'glory' and *vibhāvā*

- (for °van) 'excellent'. Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory'.
- apām rasam udvayasam* (KS *udayansam*, TA *udayansan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA. The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing', KS. and TA a verb form, which in TA. is 3 plur aor. of *ud-yam* KS may intend the same with *udayansam* followed by *s*; but in VV I p 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing.
- viśvam tu tvāhutayah sarvā yatra brahmā viśvāmṛto 'sī* PrānāgU : *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāḥ prajāś tatra yatra viśvāmṛto 'sī* MU The Conc says, 'read *viśantu*' for both In the Poona ed (*Upaniṣadām Samuccayah*, An Skt Ser, 1895), the MU. passage (p 406) reads *viśantu* in text and comm, but the PrānāgU (p 307), *viśvam tu* in both Certainly *viśantu* must be read
- anvitr asī dīve* TS KS JB PB. Vait · *anvitr asī* GB The Conc calls the latter a 'blunder', yet, curiously, Gaastra also has *anvitr*.
- mutrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām* (MS °hnā) *cikittū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*, AŚ *cikittvam*) TS MS. KS AŚ See §45 The AŚ form is difficult and suspicious
- satyaujasā dṛṇhanā* (MS. *durhṛnā*, KS † *dṛhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS. KS. · *sacetasau druḥvano yau nudethe* AV See §305
- vande dārum vandamāno vivakmi* RV : *vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣṭu* SV. See VV I p. 218.
- anu daha sahamūrān kravayādah* (SV *kayādah*) RV SV : *sahamūrān anu daha kravayādah* AV. See §355
- anukāśena bāhyam* MS : *anukāśena bāhvyam* VS : *antarenānūkāśam* TS KSA The VS reading is apparently a blunder, comm. reads *bāhyam*, which must be right, as the contrasting *antaram* in the preceding formula shows.
- §371a. One anomalous case involving false word-division:
uror ā no deva riṣas pāhu TS. MS KS TB · *pururāvno deva* etc VS ŚB. LŚ. The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility'. The Vāj reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption: Eggeeling, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning, but Mahidhara derives *rāvan* from *rā* 'give'.

5. Presence or absence of s

- §372. Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of *s* + stop (also *s* + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the *s* Hindu speech

not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots *spaś paś*, *ḥr skṛ*, etc.) See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the *s* is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi).

§373. Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial *s* before a vowel varies with a form without *s*, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of *h*, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially.

§374. Beginning with the cases of initial *s* before consonants (those which occur are *k*, *t*, and *p*), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word.

sa prathamā samkṛtṛ viśvakarmā TS TB ApŚ . *sā* (MS MŚ *yā*)
prathamā samskṛtṛ viśvavārā (MS *yajñe asmin*) VS MS ŚB
 (Pratīka, MŚ) The root *ḥr* regularly appears as *skṛ* with *sam*, so that the Tait form is irregular.

ut te stabhnām (TA *tabhnomi*) *prthwīm tvaṁ pari* RV AV TA Cf Whitney §233c. In TA this law operates in spite of tmesis, this is not without parallel.

tegān (TS TB ApŚ *stegān*) *danṣṭrābhyām* VS TS MS KSA TB ApŚ. No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain. RV has *stega*. Perhaps the root *tiḡ* (originally *stiḡ*) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS MS KSA the word is preceded by one ending in *s*, while in TS it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated.

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV . *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS : *sa im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *manṭhā suprayasā starīman*) VS TS MS. Probably all the forms may be corrupt, at least they are all difficult. But note *starīman* in MS (*tarī* AV).

§375. The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned, and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds.
divah samsprśas (MS *samprcas*) *pāhi* VS MS ŚB. And

prthivyāḥ sampr̥cas (TS TB ApŚ, °cah, VS ŚB *samspr̥sas*) *pāhi* VS.
TS MS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ *saṃ-pr̥c* and *saṃ-spr̥c*, practically
synonyms. See §195

divam agrenāspr̥kṣah †VSK., wrongly quoted in Conc as °*āpr̥kṣah*
divam agrenāspr̥kṣat (TB °*āpāt*) VS TB And others

viśvā spr̥dho (AV *m̐rdho*) *abhimātir jayema* RV. AV. TA

āñjanena sarpiṣā saṃ viśantu (AV. *spr̥santām*, Ppp [Roth] *iśanta*, TA
m̐santām) RV AV TA

yatrāspr̥kṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV.
ApMB · *yatrā v̐kṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG

sa bhūmim viśvato (ArS *sarvato*, VS *sarvata*) *v̐rtā* (VS *spr̥tā*) RV. ArS
AV. VS. TA. See §200.

tulho 'sī janadhāyāḥ (PB °*yah*) MS KS PB MŚ LŚ : *stuto 'sī janadhāḥ*
TB ApŚ See §93

samsrāvabhāgā (VS ŚB *samsrava*°; MS °*gāh*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā*
(Kauś *taṇṣā*) *br̥hantah* VS TS MS KS. ŚB Kauś See §§96,
747.

§376. Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange
between *sa* conjunctive and *a* privative (antonyms), the rest is sporadic:
ajōṣā (SV *saḥ*°) *v̐ṣabham patim* RV. AV. SV *ajōṣa* 'unersättlich, gierig'.
sacetasāu (VSK °*sā*) *arepasau* VS VSK ŚB.: *sacetasau sarelasau* TB
And others, see §180

ā (VaradapU. *sā*) *nah śr̥nvann ūtibhuh sīda sādānam* (VaradapU *śaśvat*)
RV TS. KS VaradapU The comm. is hard put to it to explain
sā, he takes it for *sa* with Vedic lengthening. It is in fact in-
explicable

yāvā ayāvā ūmā abdah (KS *yāvā āyāvā ūmā † evā abdas*) *sagarah sumekah*
MS KS MŚ : *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS.
The form *sabda* of TS, for regular *abda*, is wholly obscure, doubtless
due to some analogy

anāgasō yathā sadam it saṃ kṣiyema Vait *anāgasō adham it saṃkṣayema*
TB See §110

§377 The very few cases of evanescent medial *s* are entirely sporadic,
except a few cases of precativ and other optative forms (as *bhūyāma*·
bhūyāśma), which are found in VV I §175 and are not repeated here:
agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV TS KS *vansate*) *rayim* RV SV VSK
TS MS KS Present and *s*-aorist

tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (MS KS °*vāno bhūyāśma*) AV MS. KS ·
tasyās te bhakṣivānah syāma (MS KS ApŚ 4. 13 7† *bhaktivāno*
bhūyāśma) MS. KS TB ApŚ. (both) Suffixes *vans* and *van*

6 Presence or absence of visarga

§378. This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings), and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter, and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like, some must be considered mere corruptions.

§379. In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final *h* vary with corresponding forms without *h*, a fairly frequent phenomenon.

pra-pra yaṣṇāpatam tira (TA *tirah*, Poona ed *tira*) AV VS TS MS
KS TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ *tapah*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*, em, mss *mahah*) AV ŚŚ

nyūdbhur (AV. *vyugbhur*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *iha lā vi muñca*
(ŚŚ †*muñcah*) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Add to
VV I §25

viśvasmāt (TA *divo vi*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA *°yah*) RV TA

lāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB *emām anu sarpata* MS

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB *°mah*) RV TB

aśvinā bhiṣajāvatah (MS *°tam*, TB †*°ta*, both edd) VS MS TB

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra*) *saścima* (TA *°mah*, RV *saścire*) RV VS
MS ŚB TA (corrupt)

prah bhāgam na dīdhima (SV *°maḥ*) RV AV SV VS N

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG.

abhiratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BṛhPDh Here, in late texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation (*smah* 'sma-ha)

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ

tau saha (VS ŚB *tā ubhau*) *caturah* *prasārayāvahai* (ŚB *°yāva*, MS *°yāvah*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

viśvāh pṛvathah (TB *°tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB (comm *°thah* in Bibl Ind ed, but Poona ed *°tha*) This is probably only a case of sandhi before *s* + consonant, cf §978 ff

ata ū šu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS : *adah su madhu madhunābhi yodhih* RV. SV AV AA. MŚ See VV I p 101.

agne (MS *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocah* (MS *voca*) RV. SV MS. TA. Add to VV I §§25, 156

saṃ agnis tapasāgata VS. MS ŚB. (preceded by *svāhā*, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS edition separated by a mark of punctuation) *svāhā saṃ agnis tapasā gata* (**gatah*, Poona ed *gata*) TA * As pple *gatah* is defensible See VV I p 161

varebhir varān abhi šu prasidatah (ApMB *pra sīdata*) RV. ApMB A participle (gen sing, Grassmann, acc pl, Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur in ApMB

iha iama (HG *īramah*) MS AB AŚ. ApŚ HG Here *ramah* is a noun form

§380. In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms

punar āqāh punarnava (AV **nava* and **navah*) RV AV (bis)

nicerur asi nicumpunah (TS TB *nicañkuna*, MS KS *nicuñkunah*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB TB LŚ. Vocative in TS TB by assimilation to an adjoining formula, see §150

ṛtena (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (MG **nā*, ApMB HG **nāv*) *adhī roha vanśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV. AG ApMB HG MG Kauś Here the nom is secondary

agne ghṛtenāhuta (KS **tah*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ

yajñah praty u śhāt (KS *pratyāśhāt*, v 1 *praty u°*, MŚ adds *sumatau matīnām*) KS MŚ · *yajña prathīṣṭha sumatau suśevāh* TB ApŚ

indrāh (*indra*) *somasya pīlaye* (also **ye vṛṣāyate*) RV (all three)

indra (MS *indrāh*) *stomena pañcadaśena madhyam* (KS **daśenaujah*) TS MS. KS AŚ

paramajyā ṛcīśamah (SV.† **ma*) RV. SV AV

devebhyo (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* (RV *°*na*) RV. (both) ApŚ.

sahasrākṣo amartyah AV.. *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV.

pavamānah (SV *°*na*) *santanin eṣi kṛnvan* RV SV

tvaṣṭā devaḥ sahamāna indrah MG *tvaṣṭar devebhīḥ sahasāma indra* ApMB

yo agnih havyavāhanah (VS KS *havya°*) RV. VS. KS AŚ *yad agne havyavāhana* TS See §353.

hiranyapakṣah śakunah HG · *hiranyaparna śakune* PG *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU

subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB . *subūinah sṛja-sṛja* HG The latter is doubtless corrupt, a voc is required.

indra kralvā (MS *indran kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV MS KS See §664

ayā somah (SV *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV SV See VV I §328

ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana (KS TB † ApŚ † °nah) AV KS TB ApŚ
āprno 'si samprnah (ApŚ *āprnoṣi samprna*) . ŚŚ ApŚ The latter is secondary and poor

indra karmasu no 'vata VS KS *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (but read *indra . . 'vata*, see VV I p 260)

indra (MS *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahān* RV. MS The nom is hardly construable

— *indrah* (SV. PB *indra*) *suleṣu someṣu* RV SV. PB AŚ ŚŚ

indra (MS *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV MS KS

kāmena kṛtaḥ (RV. and p p of MS *kṛta*) *śrava icchamānah* RV MS TB

uṣṭhā ratham (TB. *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. °*tah*) RV. VS ŚB TB

dhānāsomān manthina indra (MŚ *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS KS MŚ The nom is not construable, see Knauer's note.

nutra satyānām pate (ŚŚ *satyānām adhipate*) TB ŚŚ : *nutrah satyānām* (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG.

vśvā (KS PG *vśvās ca*) †*deva* (PG *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣya* (KS °*ṣyāh*, PG † °*ṣyak*) KS TB. ApŚ. PG HG.

vṛhīnām medha (MŚ *medhah*) *sumanasyamānah* TB ApŚ MŚ

śuddho mamaddhī somyah (SV *somya*) RV SV.

saṃjoṣā indra (TB *indrah*) *sagano marudbhīh* RV. VS TS MS TA. MahānU. AŚ

§381. In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified, sometimes involving different but related stems:

pṛbāt somam amadann (AV *somam mamadaḥ*) *enam iṣṭayah* (AV *iṣṭe*)

AV AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 88, loc sing of *iṣṭa* nom pl of *iṣṭi* *ghṛtaviṭ savitar* (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*yah*) TS MS KS AŚ

Loc sing. instr pl Cf §706

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV * *vārāh*) *pari priyah* (and *priyam*) RV SV As prec

candrena jyotiḥ amṛtam dadhānāḥ (KS GB comm and Poona ed °*nā*)

VS. KS TB *śukram na jyotiḥ amṛtam dadhānā* MS (but p p. °*nāḥ*)

The plural agrees with *akṣvīnā* and *sarasvatī* together as subject, the fem sing with the nearest subject, *sarasvatī* alone

dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu RVKh *bhūmidṛnham acyutam pārayiṣnu* AV *bhūmidṛnho 'cyulāṣ cyāvayīṣnuh* AV Change of

- gender, neuter to masculine; the latter certainly secondary, see §268
- sa *viśvācīr* (KS °cī) *abhī caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh* (KS °cī) RV. VS TS MS KS. SB Change of acc pl to dual, explained in §357 'But the actual reading is *ghr̥tācīr* (before initial vowel following)
- tarī *mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV (taken by Whitney as loc plur): *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS (apparently felt as nom sing) And others, all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt; see §374
- samhīlāsi *viśvarūpā* (VS SB ŚŚ °pī, TS. ApŚ *°pīh) VS TS. MS KS. SB ŚŚ ApŚ (bis) In TS the old nom fem of the *vr̥kṣ* type
- lhaṇāpo 'jopakāśinīh ApMB. *bajābojopakāśinī* HG. Both words unintelligible, §69 Perhaps *h* in ApMB ending of *vr̥kṣ* type.
- anāhanasyam *vasanam carīṣnu* (ApMB HG ja°, PG *jarīṣnuh*) ŚG PG ApMB HG See §57. The nom masc transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject.
- yenā *samatsu sāsahah* (SV. °hīh, MŚ °hī) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ MŚ See §584
- aghadviṣṭā *devajūtā* AV. Kauś: *atharvvyuṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ In AV. nom sing fem In ApŚ, which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has °jūtā followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing, but the verb is plural, and the Conc gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom plur.).
- sīrāh (TS MS KS *sarāh*, AV. *sarā*) *palatrinī* (TS MS KS °nīh) *sthana* (KS *stha*, AV *bhātva*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS. Sing in AV, plur in the others
- ya ābabbhūva (PB āva°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*!, comm. *viśvāni*) VS JB PB ŚŚ Vait *viśvāh* is certainly wrong
- vīruc *chapathayopanī* AV. *vidu chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ (corrupt, Caland adopts the AV. reading) See §272
- uta *vām uṣaso budhī* RV GB Conc *budhīh* for GB, and so all mss. apparently read, but Gaastra emends to *budhī* (loc sing 'at the awakening of dawn').
- arāddhyā *edidhīṣupatim* VS. *ārādhyai* (read with Poona ed. *ar°*) *īdīdhīṣupatim* TB The VS form is anomalous, as a fem word the stem can only end in *u*, and the nom form in composition is absurd
- avasyuvātā *brhatī* (TS °tīr) *na* (TS *nu*, AŚ *tu*) *śahvarī* (TS °rīh) TS. MS KS AŚ Sing: plural.
- imam *yajñam avantu no ghr̥tācīh* (MS KS AŚ *avatu yā* [AŚ *no*] *ghr̥tācī*) TS MS KS AŚ Sing: plural.

paraśur (TS. *parśur*) *vedih paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tih*) AV. TS *svasti* is familiar as both fem. and neut.

viṣṭātāḥ (AV. °*tā*) *prthivīm anu* RV. AV. VS. AB TB. SMB. Fem. pl : neut pl (in different contexts).

śam rātrī (VS *rātrih*, VSK. TA *rātrih*) *pratī dhīyatām* AV. VS VSK. TA MS All noms sg

śalamulā śatāṅkurā TA. MahānU.: *śalamulāḥ śatāṅkurāḥ* MahānU. Fem sing : plur.

śrnuvantī āpo dhiśanās ca devīḥ (MS.* *dhiśanā ca devī*) VS. TS MS* KS. ŚB Sing.: plur.

viśo (SV. *diśo*) *vīśvā anu prabhuh* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant, and a nom. or voc masc is required; *prabhu*, repeated in the comm, is apparently understood as an adverb, but is probably only a phonetic error.

samśitam kṣatram (MS. KS. TA add *me*) *jiṣnu* (AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS MS. KS ŚB TA. The AV. form would be masc, which cannot be construed; Whitney accordingly adopts *jiṣnu*

valso jarāyu (KS. *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk piyūṣaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. The regularly neuter word is here masc in KS., perhaps attracted to the gender of the preceding masc

sa nah prthu (TB *prthuh*) *śracāyāṃ* RV. SV. ŚB. TB Transference of the epithet with change of gender from neut to masc.

śisam ca me trapu (TS °*puś*) *ca me . . .* VS. VSK TS MS. KS. The rare stem *trapus*, for the regular *trapu*

sapatnīr jabhūbhūvarī (ApMB. °*rīḥ*) RV. ApMB. Only a nom sing fem can be construed See Winternitz, Introd, xxii

sarasvatī (AV. TB. 1 °*tih*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV. *sadanlām*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS TB N. Whitney calls the °*tih* form a blunder and emends This is perhaps going too far; but of course it is a nom sing. like the other.

sarasvatyā (TV °*tyāḥ*) *supippalāḥ* VS. MS. TB Instr.: gen.

sahasraśrīṣā (ArS °*śāḥ*) *puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS VS ŚB. TA. ApŚ Both nom. sing ; °*śrīṣāḥ* as if from an s-stem (contamination from *śiras*?)

atividdhā vīthurenā cid astrā (MS *astāḥ*) RV. MS KS The MS is doubtless corrupt

varṣman kakubhi (TB. Conc °*bhiḥ*, MS *kakubbhiḥ*) *śrīyānaḥ* (TB *śrayasra*) TS MS TB See §400

upahūtāḥ sapta hotrāḥ TS TB ŚŚ.: *upahūtā saptahotrā* ŚB Sing. plur.

agne tvam puriṣyah VS. KS ŚB : *agneḥ puriṣyam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS.

KS ŚB TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Voc. gen.

hṛanyayāḥ (MS °yā) *śucayo dhūrapūtāḥ* RV. MS. The only grammatically construable form is °yāḥ; MS. seems corrupt

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS. *sanāmy* †*agneḥ*) VS TS. MS. KS. Voc. gen.

saprattha (MŚ °thah) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ. *pāhi*, and 'jugupah) TB.

ApŚ MŚ. Both voc ; stems in *a* and *as*

vmā brahma brahmavāḥ (TS † °ha) RV. AV. KS TB. As prec

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °vah, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK.

TS MS. KS KB ŚB. ApŚ Vocatives; *s* and *a*-stems On KS. see §749

dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV. : *dātum cec chaknuvāṁsaḥ* (Poona ed *chaknavān sa*) *svarga eṣām* TA. See §826.

dyumad vibhātī bharatebhyah śucih (VS *śuci*, comm *śucih*) RV. SV. VS.

TS MS KS *śuci* might pass as an adverb.

dūrvā rohatu puṣpīnī (RV *rohanuḥ puṣpīnīḥ*) RV. AV. Sing : plur.

tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā (VS *yās ca ṣaṭpadāḥ*) VS TS MS KSA. Sing : plur.

irṇam vasānā (HG. °nāḥ) *sumanā asas* (HG. *asi*) *tvam* AV. HG. The form can only be nom sing fem, HG is impossible

prthivyā (MS *°vyāḥ) *sambhava* VS TS MS (both) KS ŚB. KŚ ApŚ

Probably the only correct reading is °vyā (see von Schroeder's note).

§382. In adverbial forms:

athā (AV *adhah*, comm *adha*, but Ppp *adhah*) *sapatnī yā mama* RV.

AV ApMB.. *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV. See §74.

śṛnvanty (PB °tv) *āpo adha* (PB 'dhah) *ḥṣarantīḥ* RV PB

parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ See

§820 The variation *-mukhāḥ* (*bahuvrīhi*): *mukhā* belongs to the preceding section

§383. Involving different divisions of words.

samudrād udajani vah (ApŚ *udacann iwa*) *srucā* MS ApŚ See §53.

idam aham rakṣo 'bhi (MS **rakṣobhiḥ*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS *sam dahāmi*)

TS MS (both) KS MŚ As the Conc suggests, *rakṣobhiḥ* must be a corruption

girā ca (AV. *virājah*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan nah* RV. AV. VS TS. MS

KS ŚB See §57

śarīram yajñāśamalam (MahānU *yajñāḥ śa°*). TS KSA. TA.

MahānU See §818

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV TB N.

āsann ā (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °tu) *devāh* RV SV VS. TS MS KS PB ŚB
pra su (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *pra sumarīyam*, MG *prathamam arim*)
yuyolana (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG MG
ūrjam bibhrad vasuvannah (*vah sumanāh*, *vah suvanah*, *vasumanāh*) . . ,
 see §227

upānasah saparyan RV † *upo nu sa sap°* SV
kavir yah putrah sa im ā (TA Conc. *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *cikela*
 RV AV TA. N *imāh* has no standing
ava (RV. *abhi*, MS *ā vah*, VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛśūmasi*,
 VS ŚB *avanayāmasi*) RV. AV VS TS MS. KS. ŚB The reading
 of MS is secondary but simple
indrah pāšena †*siktvā vah* (HG *pāšena vah* †*siktvā*) ApMB HG · *indra-*
pāšena sūtvā PG See §819.
ṛtasyarlena mām uta (TA *ita*) TB. TA . *ṛtasya tv enam āmutah* MS
 (corrupt, see §838)

adyā mamāra sa hyah sam āna (MS Samhitā, *sahyah samānah*) RV AV.
 SV MS N. *sam āna*, verb, *samānah*, adj

vīrenyah kratur indrah suśastih RV cf *varenyakratūr* (°tur, *idenya-*
kratūr) *aham*, §554 Conc suggests *vīrenyakratūr*, Oldenberg,
Noten, goes further and suggests *varenya-* (or °yah) *kratūr*.

vāñmanascaṣṭṣuḥśrotayihvāghrānarelobuddhyākūḥsamkalpā (TA TAA
 °ākūṭih *samkalpā*) *me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU Despite
 the persistence of the reading °ākūṭih (to be sure, one ms of TA
 reads like MahānU), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending
 for the long compound

§384. Miscellaneous:

purā jatrubhya (TA. ApMB *jatrūbhya*, MS *cakṛbhya*, p p *vaktṛbhya*)
ātṛdah (MS °da) RV AV. SV. MS. PB TA. KŚ ApMB See
 §57, *ātṛdah* apparently-abl sing of a noun, MS corrupt, perhaps
 feels *ātṛda* as imperative.

apa (AV *ava*) *śveta padā gahr* AV. AG ŚG PG ApMB. HG : *apah*
śvetapad ā gahr MG (but most mss *apa*, so read, cf §817)

apa (MG *apah*) *prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti* RV MG Here all mss of MG.
 have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense

parīṣaṭ tad arpitā AṣṢ : *pari doṣād ud arpitah* KŚ The true reading
 in both seems to be *udarpitah*, see §63

sugantuh larma karanah kariṣyan JB : *sugam vah karmah karanah*
karah karasyuh LŚ On the obviously corrupt LŚ see §739

gharmam śocantah (AŚ °ta, ŚŚ °lam) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*)
bibhratah AB AŚ ŚŚ Cf VV I p 165

aghāya bhūma harivah parāda (MS °*dai*h) RV. AV. TS MS *parāda* is an infinitive; *parāda*h is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra, despite the 1st person verb *bhūma*!), or else as an instr plur. 'by betrayal'. *tām ha jarūtar na pratyagrbbhan* AV. AB GB JB ŚŚ Gaastra reads *nah* in GB (v 1 *na*), but the sense clearly requires *na* *na śisarīdata* (HG †*śisarīdata*h) ApMB HG Both hopelessly corrupt, Winternitz p xxvi suggests *śisarī data*h) *adrnathāh śarkarābhis trivṣṭapi* (MŚ *tribhṣṭibhi*h) KS ApŚ MŚ. *samudram nah subhvam* (AVPpp ms *subhavas*) *tasthivānsam* AVPpp MS *samudram na subhva*h svā *abhiṣṭayah* RV. *samudram na subhvas tasthivānsam* AV And others, §§119, 789. *nah*, pronoun *na*, comparative particle *bhūṣajam na* (MS *nah*) *sarasvatīm* VS MS TB *na*, comparative particle.

7. Presence or absence of *h*

§385. The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional psilosis, or its reverse In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions, but cf the startling *sanjigātre* in the first variant under §387

§386. Initially *h* appears and disappears before vowels and *y*, once *r*. The variation is almost wholly lexical, it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words: *sa ugrah sa hi* (PG *i*) *havyo babbhūva* TS PG This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant; an otherwise unknown *i* (said to mean 'and', the mss are unanimous) seems to be substituted for *hi*, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for *hi* *hm̐kārāya* (and, *hm̐krlāya*) *svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB : *īm̐kārāya* (and, *īm̐krlāya*, KSA †*im*°) TS KSA TB ApŚ. Interjections *tasminn* (AV *yasminn*) ā (VS *tasmin ha*) *tasthur bhuwanāni viśvā* RV. AV VS. cf *tasminn ārptā bhu*° *vi*° RV.

caṣṭur yeṣām (v 1 *hy eṣām*) *tapa uccabhīmam* MŚ And others; see §340 *yasyām idam viśvam* (MS *viśvam hy asyām*) *bhuwanam āvīṣa* VS TS. MS KS ŚB

mahāś (MS *mahī*) *cud yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā* RV VS. VSK. MS ŚB : *mahī hy asya mīdhuṣo yavyā* TS

dhyo kinvāno (MS *dhyā invāno*) *dhyā in no avyāt* (RV. *avyāh*) RV. MS TS Rime words

antarikṣe pathabhr iyamānah (GB *hrīyamānah*, v. 1 *hīyamānah*, but no v 1 in Gaastra) RV GB See §353.

uta no brahmann aviṣaḥ (MS. °*man haviṣaḥ*) RV. MS KS AB ŚB ŚŚ KŚ The secondary *haviṣaḥ* is unaccented in MS, perhaps felt as a verb form from root *hu*: 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the brahman'.

tēna samhanu kṛṇmasi AV.: *tēna sann anugṛhṇāsi* HG See §47.

atho mālātho pītā TA. *hātā mālā hatah pītā* SMB: *hato hālamātā kṛmih* AV. The TA. probably secondary.

raḥṣohāmivacālanah (AV * *atho amūa*°) RV AV. (both) VS. TS MS KS. ApŚ If the AV variant is based on the other, which is not certain, it is clearly secondary.

āntrīmukhah . . HG *ālīkhann anūmīṣah* . . *hantrīmukhah* . . . PG
Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular etymology (as if related to *āntra* and a fem form of *hantṛ*).

atho ye ksullakā iva AV *hatah kṛmīnām kṣudrahah* SMB.: *atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāh* TA.

āsannīṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV TS MS KSA N: *āsann eṣām apsvāho mayobhūn* SV See §820

vanīsthor hrdayād (AV * *udarād*) *adhī* RV. AV (both) ApMB

§387. Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no particular phonetic interest. Only the first variant deserves special attention, in it all mss of Vait are reported as agreeing on the remarkable form *saṃjigātre*, which is certainly for °*hire* and shows an unquestionable 'psilosis' between vowels which, just because it runs counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant.

tāh prācyā (Vait °*yah*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ † °*hire*, Vait *saṃjigātre*) Vait KŚ MŚ *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ

sa (read *sa*) *nah prajāṃ paśūn pāhy aranīyamānah* (p p *ahāh, ānī* (sic!), *yāmānah*) MS *sa no rucam dhehy ahrnīyamānah* TA Read doubtless *ahrnīyamānah* in MS; the absurd p p points in this direction

marudbhyo grhamedhībhyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS *iaṣ*°, ApŚ *bāṣkān*). The word is wholly obscure

tujo janā (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV. ArS.: *tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ *balam*, emend) *sahah* AA ŚŚ The passage is obscure, we see little to choose between *svah* and *sahah*

pary agnim ahrsata (VSK † *arṣata* or *aharṣata*) RV VS VSK · *parīme* 'gnim *arṣata* AV (v 1 in AV *arṣata*) Ppp (Barret, JAOS 43 99) reads as in RV. except *aharsata*, with one ms of VSK; Barret em *ahrsata*

CHAPTER X. CONSONANT GROUPS

§388. In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone; second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse, and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, *h*, or visarga, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX

1 Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant. When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable. Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and *r*, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in the mss. Editors have followed very different courses, sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss, sometimes they add to the confusion. Cf. on the whole subject Whitney, *Grammar* §§228-232, Wackernagel I §98. The plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says I c. It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following.

śunddhī (PG MG *śundhī*) *śīro māśyāyuh pra moṣṭh* AG PG. ApMB

MG. Many mss of ApMB read *śundhī*

o śu (MS *śū*) *varṭta* (MS KS *varṭa*) *maruto vīpram aha* RV MS KS

The spelling *varṭta* (2d plural) is etymological; Muller prints *varṭa* in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV.

§390. Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel II cc). Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss and editions in such cases. Thus the word *paltra*

'wing', from root *pat* with suffix *tra*, may be spelled *patra* at any time, as in:

śyenasya patram (MS *pattram*) *na plihā śacibhik* VS MS. KS TB, where only MS. has the etymological spelling. So in:

ukthapatra (MS *°rā*, TS *°patra*) *īdyo grbhīta* VS † TS MS KS † ŚB †, the editor of TS alone prints *°patra*, all others (contrary to the Conc) *°patra*, but most mss. of TS. actually read *°patra*. The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS in

yena (yenā) rṣayas (yenarṣ°) tapasū satram (TS † *sattram*) *āsate* (VS. ŚB *āyan*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB,

where again most mss. of TS. read *satram*, with the others, but against the etymology (root *sad*). We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases

§391. Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms:

tā yā devā . ā ca śāsivā (VS. and Poona ed. of TB *śāssivā*) *ca gurasva* VS TB. The root is *śās*, the ending *sva*.

iyam vah sū satyā . yām indrena samadhaddhvam (MS *°dadhvam*) TS. MS : *eṣā vas sū satyā . . . yām indreṇa samadadhvam* KS Reduplicated stem *dhad* or *dad* plus ending *dhvam*

§392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring, to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated

arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam (TA *abbhvam*, MS *ā dhanvā*) ,

RV MS TA. The TA may quite possibly have intended *abhvam* (on the epenthetic *u* cf. §790). But if the comm. is right it would be a lexically different word, he analyzes it as *ab-bhuvam* 'produced from water (and the other four elements)' This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible

ut tvā (SV. PB Svidh *u* † *tvā*, two words) *mandantu somāh* RV. AV. SV PB. ŚŚ. Vart Rvidh Svidh The Conc prints *utvā* as one word, implying belief that *ut tvā* is intended. This is probably right, since the interjection *u* (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV, and the other *u* is enclitic, and could not stand first

ya ālṛṇatly (SamhitopaniṣadB *ālṛṇoty*) *avitathena* (VāDh *avida°*) *karnau* SamhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. N *ālṛṇoty* is an impossible form and must be an error.

ayam yah puro vibhinaty (SV. °*naly*) *ojasū* RV SV. The form *vibhinaty* is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint
agnir holā vetu (ŚB *vettu*) *agnir* (ŚB AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu prāvitrām*
 . ŚB. TB AŚ ŚŚ So the Conc ; TB. Poona ed reads *vettu* and *vettu* In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots *vī* 'enjoy' and *vid* 'know' (ŚB comm. *jānātu*). Cf. next, and the variations between the participles *vīta* and *vitta*, §398 below

prati tvādityās tvag vetu (TB Poona ed † *vetu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB :
prati tvā diva (TB *divāh*) *skambhanir vetu* (TB. Poona ed † *vetu*)
 TS TB And others in the context The text of TB actually reads *vetu-ity āha*; doubtless *vettu* is intended

āprā (AV * *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarīkṣam* RV. AV. ArS VS TS MS. KS ŚB. TB AA TA N See VV I pp. 27, 129.

yad ūrdhvas tīṣṭhā (KS *tīṣṭhād*) *dravineha dhattāt* RV MS KS AB TB. N Here the KS form assimilates, perhaps, to the following *dhattāt*, which however is originally and properly 2d person Cf. VV I p 27.

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravinam vīrapesāh* RV. TS See VV I p. 26

satvānām (KS † *salvā*) *pataye namah* MS KS This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen. plur of *satva* would be *satvānām* (cf §494), MS must intend gen plur of *salva*, like KS.

bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (TS *māhi ṣad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS. The AV. has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of *ddy* as *dy*, and bringing in its train a false division of words; see §826.

sadanān (Vait *sa dahan*) *pradahan v* (Vait *nv*) *agāh* GB Vait Particles *u* and *nu*; the passage is metrical and *v(nv)* is read consonantically

lokam (RV. *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ *id*) *dve upa jāmi* (RV. *jānum*) *īyatuḥ* RV. MS ApŚ.

,Double and single consonants between vowels

§393. The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology See Geiger,

Pāl §§5, 6, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f. While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language. It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant.

§394. In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong *e*. This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in Pālī and Prakrit; there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one. In Sanskrit it is invariably considered long. But we find variations in the mss between single and double consonants after it, as in AV. 15. 10. 2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss read *mānaye tathā* for *mānayet tathā*. And so in the variant

sa no jīveṣv ā yame AV : *sa no deveṣv ā yamat* RV. TA, where most mss of AV read *yame*, but the comm *yamed*, which is certainly intended, the next word begins with *d-* and the actual reading of RV TA is *yamad*. See Whitney's note on AV 18. 2 3, and VV I p. 74. This is clearly a phonetic simplification.

§395. The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts. Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions, the stem *apsaras* appears also as *apsarā* independently *apsarassu* (HG. **rāsu ca*) *yo gandhah* ApMB HG

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG *medhāpsarahsu*, Scheftelowitz reads *medhāpsarassu* for RVKh) RVKh MG : *apsarāsu ca yā medhā* TA MahānU HG ApMB ApG

Here the fem. gender of the word, and its nom. sg. *apsarāḥ*, may have helped in the change. But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected.

yā te agne 'yāśayā (VS ŚB 'yāśayā, TS 'yāśayā *rajaśayā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ. *yā te agne ijaśayā* (VS ŚB *rajaśayā*) VS MS. KS ŚB MŚ

§395a. The adjective *mahad* varies with its composition-form *mahā-agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV *bhajasē mahad dhanam*) RV SV.

§396. The forms *rāye* and *rāyas* vary with *rayyāi* and *rayyās* (see Edgerton, l c, §393). Undoubtedly the former are from *rai*, while the latter are from the parallel stem *rayi* (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine). But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved, the *rai* forms seem original: *agne samrād iṣe rāye* (ApŚ *rayyāi*). . AŚ. ApŚ *iṣe rāye*. VS MS

ŚB. TB. (The Conc. quotes AŚ ApŚ. under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, *agne samrād* etc.)

rāyas poṣena (MS *rayyā*) *mā paśyata* (and: *vah paśyāmi*) TS. MS KS.

§397. The base *su*, used as a root noun, must appear as *sut*; a superlative from it, *-suttama*, varies with the parallel base *-sū-tama*:

indrāya (MS MŚ °*ya tvā*) *suṣuttamam* (VS ŚB *suṣūtamam*) VS MS. KS ŚB. MŚ

§398. The roots *vī* 'enjoy' or the like, and *vid* 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift, it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vī* are older Cf. §329, *agnir hotā velv* (*vetlv*) . :

iṣṭam ca vītam (ŚB AŚ *vittam*) *ca* (ŚŚ *cābhūt*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
śocasva devavītamah (KS °*vittamah*) RV. RVKh VS TS MS KS.

ŚB TA : *rocasva devavītamah* VS

§399. More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant They are chiefly lexical We begin with those in which the vowel is short Forms of the root *cit*, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of *ci* or *cyu*:

acittapājā (TA *acyuta*°) *agnī*, and.

acittamanā (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā* MS TA. ŚŚ Proper names of rishis; 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense, the latter is secondary.

cittim (MS KS MŚ. *cittim*) *juhomi manasā* (VS TS ŚB add *ghṛtena*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB MŚ ApŚ. See Keith on TS (*HOS* 19 p 444, n. 1). *Cittim* is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for *cittim*; but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs To be sure, one ms of MS has *cittim*; but MŚ *cittim* The passage belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (*citi*) the fire-altar. In the same context occurs:

cittim acittim (KS ms *ṣcittim acittim*, emended by von Schroeder) *cīnavad*

KS † °*vo*) *vi vidvān* RV TS KS Add to VV I §337 Cf. prec *mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito* (AV. °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nakārīnah* AV. VS TS. MS. KS. Lexical, but the reading with *ti* seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods 'Having thoughts (devotion, or magic?) first', or, in MS, 'in first thought': 'piling (the altar) first'.

§400. One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem.
varṣman kṣatrasya kakubhi (TB Conc °bhūh, Poona ed °bhū, MS kakubbhūh) *śīśrīyānah* (TB śrayasva) TS MS TB Loc sing instr plur. of kakubh The form kakubhūh is an impossible blend of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with Poona ed.; yet the comm seems to have read so (but he glosses *uttamāṅge*, as if loc)

§401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere corruptions and false readings

nama ākṣidate ce prakṣidate ca VS MS KS . *nama ākṣidate ca prakṣidate ca* TS The curious doubling in TS, is authorized by TPr 14 8, but the mss show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's note on TPr, and Weber's on TS 4 5 9 2

ayā san (*ayāh san*, *ayās san*) *manasā hītah* (MS *kṛtah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS. KS TB. ApŚ. ApMB HG. *ayāsā manasā* (*vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś. *ayasā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB *kṛtah* is obviously a blunder Cf §402

vr̥tāya (VS *vr̥tāya*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KSA *vr̥tāya* probably an error

nr̥tah (ŚŚ *nr̥tatah*) *puruṣād dṛtāh* AV ŚŚ The passage where this occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any other

varṣvānarah prānathā nākam āruhat (PB *ṛāruha*) AV PB TA ApŚ In all followed by *diva-*, *āruhad* is the actual reading PB has a phonetic simplification or corruption; a 2d sing impv is inappropriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last pāda) Add to VV I §332

phalāya, and *phallāya*, KhG *bhalāya*, and *bhallāya*, SMB GG See §79

samudrād udajāni vah (ApŚ *udacann va*) *srucā* MS ApŚ See §53

imām narāh (*narah*) *kṛnuta vedim etya* (*eta*, *etat*), see §328

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA *āya*, MS. *loke nadhir ajarāya*) AV MS TA Corruption in MS.

vin̥ti (*vicuti*, *vin̥tīyati*, *vin̥stīyati*) *svāhā*, see §866

māyādevā avataram HG *adevā devavattaram* ApMB Several HG mss. read *avattaram*, pointing to probable corruption in its text

ava tara (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB : *avattaro nadīnām* AV. See §832

iṣṭo yaḡño bhṛgubhir dravinodā yatibhir (MS once *yattibhir*) *āśīrdā* . . . MS.† KS † ApŚ † The isolated *yattibhir* can only be a mistake

pitvo (VS MS *pidvo*) *nyañkuh kakkaṭas* (MS *kakuṭhas*, TS *kaṣas*) ..
VS TS MS

daridra (TS °*dran*) *nīlaloṭita* VS TS. MS KS. ŚB Epithet of Rudra;
the TS form apparently felt as a participle Keith, 'waster'.

apā vṛdhi parivṛtam (TB Conc °*vṛttim*, comm °*vṛtim*; Poona ed text
and comm °*vṛtim*) *na rādhah* RV. TB

ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (GB Conc *ātmanātmānam*) *me mā hnsiḥ*
GB Vait. Kauś Gastra reads correctly like the others for GB.

rajanī (AV Berlin ed *rajjunī*, by emend) *graniher dānam* (AŚ *dhānām*)
AV AŚ. Vait The emendation is probably right, at least in giving
the true original reading of the passage; but there is no variant
Caland in his translation of Vait quotes it as reading *rājanī*,
perhaps by a slip

jīvebhyas tvā samude vāyur indrah AV 8 1 15a Conc. says read
sammude, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p p
sam-ude 'conversation' The comm however connects the word
with root *mud* If this were right the variant could be classed with
§306 Uncertain

svarvūdo abhi gā adrim uṣnan (SV *iṣnan*) RV. SV. Conc. suggests
muṣnan in RV, see however Oldenberg, *Noten*, ad loc

§402. Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single
or double consonant is long in both cases Particularly interesting, as
suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases
where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant
after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant This
seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that
position Thus:

sarvasmād devakūḷiṣāt (VS °*viṣāt*, LŚ *eva kūḷb*°) RV VS MS. LŚ ApŚ
The LŚ obviously has a secondary lect fac, altho it makes good
sense

ayā (MS *ayāh*, KS *ayās*) *san* (KS ms *ayāsā*) *manasā hatah* (MS.
ḷṛtāh, p p *ḷṛtah*, KS *ḷṛtah*) MS KS TB ApŚ ApMB HG :
ayāsā manasā (AŚ *vayasā*) *ḷṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś : *ayasā manasā*
dhṛtah ApŚ ApMB Cf §401

jīvām ṛtebhyah parinīyamānām AV *mṛtāya jīvām parinīyamānām* TA
Read *mṛtebhyah* in AV with some mss and SPP.

sarvam nī śvāpayā janam RVKh AV Edgerton, *AJP* 35 439, has
suggested *śvāpayāj janam* as the true reading

§403. There are several variations concerning the synonymous
adverbs *paścā* and *paścāt*, before following *d-* In the first, at least, the

form with double *d* is the older, so that the same tendency is involved: *apaścāddaghrane* (SV. *apaścāda*^o) *nare* (SV. *narah*) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *apaścāddaghrānnaṁ* (AV. *apaścādaghrānnasya*) *bhūyāsam* AV. MS ApŚ. MŚ.

paścādoṣāya glārinam VS.: *paścāddoṣāya glāram* TB.

§404. There is some confusion between *pratīla* (and *parī*^o), pple. of root *dā* in composition, and *pratīla* (*parī*^o), similar form from root *i* in composition (and, once, an anomalous *apratīkam*). In the first two cases the form with double *t* is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification. In the other two the true reading has single *t*, and the double *t* is textually very dubious:

yai kusīdam apratīlam (TS. ^o*tīlam*, and so TA. Poona ed., with v. 1 ^o*tīlam*. SMB. *apradattam*) *maycha* (TS. *mayi*) TS MS. TA. MŚ. SMB.: *apamityam apratīlām yad asmi* AV.: *yāny apāmityāny apratītāny* (TB. Poona ed ^o*tītāny*) *asmi* TB ApŚ. It seems that the original form must be *apratīlam*, from *prati-dā* (cf. SMB.); but possibly the pple. of *prati-i* may be defended. So the comm. on TA. reads (*apratīlam*), glossing *na pratyarpitam*.

śyene parīlo (VSK. *parīlo*) *acarac ca jṛāte* VS. VSK. ŚB : *śyene rāta ula yo 'carat parītataḥ* AV. Here the true form is certainly from *pari-dā*.

apah eiśāsan svar (TB. ApŚ. *svrar*) *apratītaḥ* (TB Conc ^o*tītaḥ*, Poona ed text and comm ^o*tītaḥ*) RV. AV. KS TB. ApŚ Here the double *t* has no standing.

stuhī śūraṇi rajrinam apratīkam (TB. Conc. *apratīlam*, Poona ed ^o*tīlam*) MS TB. The only correct reading is *apratīlam* 'invincible'. On MS. see §138

§405. In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt: *atṛā* (AV. *taṭra*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. ^o*nāl*) *te mnotu* (AV. *kṛnotu*) RV. AV. TA. A clear error in TA.: see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV.

ugraṇ-prāśyā (MS. *ugraṇ paśyāc*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tān* MS TA. Names of Apsarases The MS. has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of *rāṣṭrabhṛt*, see §520.

nama āḥ hidaṭe ca pratīdite ca VS. MS. KS : *nama āḥ hi^o ca prakkhī^o ca* TS. See §401.

srāna bhrājā... VS. TS. ŚB KS. ApŚ : *srāna bhrāj*... TA.: *srān nabhrād*... KS.: *surān nabhrād* MS. MŚ Keith on TS. suggests *srāna nabhrāj-* as the original form.

2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

§406. The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.

§407. We begin with cases concerning *r*, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, *Pāli* §51; Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* xxxi).

usrāv (VSK KS *usrā*) *etam . . . anaśrū* (KS *anaśśū*, v l. °*śrū*) . . . *brahmacodanau* VS VSK TS KS. ŚB. MŚ See Keith on TS 1. 2. 8. 2; he points out that *anaśśū*, as well as *anaśrū* and *anaśśrū*, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt

manyor mṛdhrasya (HG. *mṛddhasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB. HG.: *manyoh krodhasya nāśanī* PG Kiste suggests reading *ṛddhasya*, saying that *manyoh* seems superfluous. But the parallels show that *manyoh* is original and that HG has a phonetic assimilation in *mṛd*.

kṛdī ca śākī corjeṣī (ApŚ *śākī corjiṣī ca*) VS VSK ApŚ. Here the dissimilated form is secondary, it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (*ūrj* + root *iṣ*).

āvat tam (TA read *āvar tam*, §873) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS TA

§408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prakrit is *y*. We have a number of cases concerning it, to them should be added a few cases of final *ny* varying with *nn* before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928

abhinne khūlye (TB *khille*) *nīdadhātī devayam* RV. AV. TB. Comm. on TB. *khulibhūte*, the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation

duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha TA. Bibl. Ind : *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm : *duḥsvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU. See §255.

aśvān anaśśato (KS †ApŚ *anaśyato*, MS. van Gelder, *anaśvato*) *dānam* KS TA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §255

ud u tye (MS MŚ *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV AV SV MS PB GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ The secondary MS MŚ reading involves substitution of *te* for the older *tye*

yad annenātroḥaṭi RV ArŚ VS TA · *yad anyenābhavaḥ saha* AV Here the form with *ny* is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of *y* On the nonsensical reading of AV (the comm has *annena*) see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 127

pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA *pītābhā syāt lanūpamā* MahānU See §838 The assimilation is secondary

capyam (TB. Poona ed *cappam*) *na pāyur* VS MS KS TB *capyā* seems well established, tho etymologically obscure, *cappam* may be a graphic blunder.

sūryācandramasau vṛkyābhyām (KSA *vṛkkā*°) TS KSA The TS form is a secondary and (as shown by Av *vṛāḥka*) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s v *vṛkkā*)

§409. A single case concerns *l*

gāvo gulgulugandhayah (Vait *guggulu*°) Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ The usual Sanskrit form is *guggulu*, but *gulgulu* occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form

§410. As to *v*, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408 Besides, we find.

tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato (ApŚ *tan no msvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ *tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ, assisted of course by the preceding *tan nas yathāyatham nau tanvau* (AŚ *tanvā*, MŚ *tan nau*) *jātavedah* KS AŚ MŚ The MŚ is obviously corrupt, no *v* l quoted

mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS °hnā) *cikīnū* (MS *cikīlām*, KS *jagatnū*, AŚ *cikītvam*) TS MS KS AŚ See §45

mśvandam (AV °do) *vācam anśvaminnvām* (AV *anśvaminnām*) RV AV See §236

apa durhārdāśo jahṛ Kauś Read °dvīśo, the corruption may be graphic (§869)

§411. Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels

aganma yatra prahranta (MG *prataram na*, mss °ran na) *āyuh* RV AV MG

dāvya (AV *dāvā*) *hotāro* (TS. °rā, AV. °rah) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vani*°, KS † *vanīṣan na*, AV. *sanīṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV TS. KS

akṣatam ariṣṭam ilādam SMB : *akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ilānnam gopāyanam* ŚG Epithets of the cow; cf the cow-name *ilāndā*, MS. 4 2 1: 22 7, 10, and 4 2. 7: 28 12 Altho SMB comm. says *ilādam ilānnam kṣīrādīlakṣanam*, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing *yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yānān me*, v 1 *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA MahānU. Here probably MahānU. is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original.

ukṣantūdā maruto ghṛtena AV 3. 12 4 So Conc, with Whitney's Transl, the comm, and SPP. But according to Whitney no ms reads so, except one of SPP's *śrotṛiyas*; most of them have °*ūnnā*, a few °*ūtnā* Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 366) has °*ūnā* See §183. [*svāhākr̥tasya sam u tṛpnuta r̥bhavah* (TB. Conc *tṛnnutarbh*°; ApŚ and TB Poona ed *tṛpnutarbh*°) RV. TB. ApŚ *tṛnnu*° probably misprint]

§412. When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule. But it occurs in a couple of cases: *sahasrāpsāh pṛtanāṣān* (SV °*ṣād*) *na yajñah* RV. SV.

anuṣṭum (MS °*ṭub*) *mitrasya* (GB. Vait add *patnī*) MS. KS. GB Vait

It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals.

§413. In a case or two *m* at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following *n*, or remains anusvāra This may be merely a matter of writing:

devya (ApŚ *dāvya*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* (KŚ *namnam*°) . . PB KŚ ApŚ

vājasya hi prasave (TS. °*vo*) *nannamīti* (TS. *namna*°) TS. MS KS āyam (MS MŚ āyan) *narah sudānavo dadāṣuṣe* RV. TS MS KS AŚ MŚ Lect fac in MS MŚ (verb form, 'they have come').

§414. Conversely, before initial *m*, final *n* varies with anusvāra. But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the masc. and neuter (adverbial) forms *tam* and *tad* (*tan*); and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc as a mere corruption:

tam (MS *tan*) *mā devā avanti sobhāyat* (MS °*yi*) TS MS. TA

tan (JB *tan*) *mā punsi kartary erayadhvam* JB KBU

trita etan manuṣyeṣu māmrje TB : *trita enam manuṣyeṣu manrje* AV.

Conc and Whitney's note say, read *enan* with SPP. At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended

§415. Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes. In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one exception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt, in it a following nasal (*l*) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute:

śiśum nadīnām harim adribudhnam (TS **buddham*) VS TS MS. KS

SB. Keith assumes *adribudhnam* in his translation

§416. The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation. Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary. All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually, there is, then, no need to repeat them here.

§416a. To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book. We shall find some signs of a tendency towards *u* coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants. This appears in the variation of *av* with *uv*, §§601-4, and in that of *r* with *ru*, §§678-80. We have also noted, among the variants of *u* with *a* and *i*, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables. These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622-4.

3. Simplification of Consonant Groups

§417. Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished. On the insertion of *t* and *k* after final *n* and *ñ* before a sibilant, see §§938 f. On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, *Grammar* §231; Wackernagel I §233a. The dropping of the mute is required by APr 2 20. The VPr 6 30 requires it before a voiced mute, the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of *t* before another *t*, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389). The other Prāṭisākhya's ignore it. All texts seem to show it sporadically. But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value. Note Weber's disregard of the

TS mss in the first two variants, which is typical; other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their mss

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated:

bṛhaspate ṛyāmyām (KS ms. °yā emend. °yām) *yuṅgdhi* (AŚ. *yuṅdhī*)
vācam TS MS. KS AŚ. But practically all mss. of TS *yuṅdhī*.
paravṛndhi (TS MS ŚB °vṛṇgdhi) *harasā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But here too all mss of TS. *vṛndhi*; and so p p of MS.

ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅgdhi (VS *aṅdhī*, TS. KS. *aṅjan*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB.

athāmṛtena jaritāram aṅdhī (ApŚ. *aṅgdhi*) TB ApŚ. But TB. Poona
 ed *aṅdhī*, text and comm

śucir aṅkte (SV. *aṅte*) *śucibhur gobhur agnih* RV. SV.

yah pauruṣeyena kranṣā samaṅkte (AV. *samaṅte*) RV. AV. Kauś

udno (VS MS *apo*) *dattodadhīm bhīnta* (VS. MS *bhīnta*) VS TS. MS.:
udno dehy udadhīm ṛbhīndhi KS

śunddhi (PG MG and v 1 of ApMB. *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣṭh*
 AG. PG ApMB MG

ayam sa śīṅkte (AV. *śīṅte*) *yena gaur abhīvṛtā* i. V. AV. JB N.

sampaśyan paṅktir (AV. *paṅtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānah* RV. AV.

achā vīram naryam paṅktirādhasam (SV. *paṅti*°) RV. SV. VS. MS.
 ŚB TA.

[*pāṅktirah* (KSA em *ṛpāṅktirah*) *kaśo māṅthūlavas* (KSA. *ṛman*°) *te*
pīṛnām (KSA *ṛpīṛnām*) TS KSA. The mss of both texts all
 read *pāmtra*, intending *pāṅtra*; TS comm *pāmtra-kaśān*, as a
 dvandva]

§419. There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present. We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is *y* or *v*, see §§314-5, 321-2, 332-7, 357, 367, 370.) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots *su* and *stu*. The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy; there are many situations in which *suta* and *stuta*, *soma* and *stoma* will do about equally well: *gīrah somah* (SV. *gīra stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāh* RV. SV. Here there is a change in syntax, but of the next, where there is none.

ghṛtāhutah somaprṣṭhah (MS *stoma*°) *suwīrah* AV MS *stomaprṣṭho*
ghṛtavān supratīkah KS TB † 3 7 2 7b, AŚ ApŚ The originality
 of AV is supported by the RV. epithet *somaprṣṭha* (fashioned on
 the model of *ghṛtaprṣṭha*)

apsu dhautasya te deva soma nṛbhīh (TS tr. *soma deva te*) *sutasya* (KS *stu*°,
 MS *štu*°) TS MS KS PB : *apsu dhūtasya deva soma te mahīvido*
nṛbhīh śtutastotrasya (AS *nṛbhīh sutasya*) AŚ ŚŚ

nārāśansena stomena (RV *somena*) RV VS TS MS KS AB SB LŚ.
 Kauś See Oldenberg, ZDMG 54 54 and 56, Hillebrandt, *Lieder*
des RV 124 Grassmann would emend RV to *stomena*, but this
 is undoubtedly a later lectio facilior

[*śutā* (mss *stutā*) *mayā varadā vandamānā* (mss *vedamātā*) AV : *stuto*
mayā varadā vedamātā TAA Whitney's Translation abandons
 the unfortunate emendations of the AV edition. Weber, *IST*
 2. 144, discusses the TAA passage, he would understand *stuto*
 as *stutā-u*]

§420. The rest need no subdivision.

parimā cit kramate (AŚ ŚŚ *cit ramate*) *asya dharman* AV AŚ ŚŚ
 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance'
 Whitney's note implies that he regards *ramate* as a preferable
 reading, to us it seems merely a lect fac

tam tvam viśvebhya devebhyaḥ kratūn (KS °bhya ṛtūn) *kalpaya* KS ApŚ
 Apparently KS has the true reading, cf Caland on ApŚ 10 25 1,
kratūn is suggested by the following phrase, *dakṣināḥ kalpaya*
ahorātrābhyām puruṣaḥ samena (GB.* *kṣanena*) GB. (both) ŚB.

yena śrīyam akr̥nutām PG *yena śrīyam akr̥nutam* (ŚŚ *śrīyāv akuru-*
tam) ŚŚ SMB GG *śrīyam* is clearly a secondary simplification
 with phonetic aspects

bṛhann asi bṛhadravā (TS KS *bṛhadgrāvā*, MS *bṛhadrāyāḥ*, MŚ *bṛhad-*
rāyāḥ) VS, TS MS KS ŚB MŚ The form containing *g* seems to
 be the older

śumbhānas (KS *stam*°) *tanvam* (TB *tanuvam*, SV †*tanvām*) *svām* RV
 SV MS KS TB 'Adorning (establishing) his own person'

anyauratasya (TA *anyādvra*°) *śaścima* (TA °mah, Poona ed °ma,
 RV *śaścire*) RV VS MS ŚB TA Tho the comm on TA takes
anyāduratasya as two words, accent and sense agree in showing
 that it was felt as one, *anyad* is the 'stem' form

māteva putram bibhṛtā sv (VS ŚB *bibhṛtāpsv*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to the waters, which
 accounts for the secondary change of VS ŚB

namah śuṣkyāya (MS *śuṣyāya*) *ca harityāya ca* VS TS MS KS. Von Schroeder thinks MS is probably to be emended to *śuṣkyāya*, but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification)

bhayaṃ śtūmabhyām (KSA ° *madbhyām*) TS KSA Stems in *-man -mant*; obscure names for some part of the horse's body

§421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added).

kṛtān nah pāhy anhasah (TA *enasah*) MS TA : *ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah*

TB The latter is poor, comm *ṛlāt prāptāt tasmād anhasah*
ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneh TS . *ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām*
 VS KS ŚB . *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS : cf *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* TS KS ApŚ. Ritualistic rīgmarole
 The MS pāda may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS

śraro (RV. VS *avo*) *devasya sānasa* (TS TA ° *sim*) RV. VS. TS. MS.
 KS TA

stavāno (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhṛyā*) RV VS
 TS MS KS ŚB *avā no* is a facile and slipshod substitution.

āyobhavyāya (AG *māyo*°) *catuṣpadi* AG ŚG : *catvāri māyobhavāya*
 TB ApŚ ApMB SMB PG HG. The ŚG is obviously secondary and poor, it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from *āyu(s)*.
yāsām agnir iṣṭyā (KSA *nṛṣṭyā*) *nāmāni veda* RV TS KSA The KSA reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage 'Whose names Agni knows by the sacrifice'. 'whose foreign (external) names Agni knows'

erum tundānā patyeva jāyā AV.: *perum tuñjānā patyeva jāyā* TS. The original form of *eru peru* is unknown, it probably means the male organ.

purudasmō viśurūpa (KS. *purudasmavad viśvarūpam*) *induh* VS KS ŚB. *urudrapso viśvarūpa induh* TS. ApŚ Synonyms

madhvā (VS *adhvā*) *raṇsīndriyam* VS MS KS TB. Comm. on VS *madhvā*, the only possible reading Is *adhvā* a misprint?

[*tvayā jvasena sam aśmahī tvā* ŚG.: *tvayāvasena* etc TS KS TB AŚ MŚ Kauś SMB PG *jvasena* is a misprint, corrected SBE 29 98, note]

CHAPTER XI. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422. The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long *i* and *u*, recorded in the next chapter — In §§300–2 we have referred to variations between *ā* and short *a* plus nasal, they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395–8 for the same variation before single and double consonants.

§423. Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short *a*, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final *a* and *ā*.

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening; that is, cases in which *ā*, not short *a*, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of *ā* before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf. §§393 ff.). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §266a. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short *a* in syllables where the meter requires a long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short *a* which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,

especially the following one. Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions.

1. Final *a* and *ā*

§426. Under this head are included *a* and *ā* not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as *vant* (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases

§427. To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is *ā*, not short *a*, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both *a* and *ā* can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending *ya* or *yā*. Altho *ya* prevails entirely in the later language, *yā* is much the commoner in RV., and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form; whether *ya* is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with *yā*, need not here be discussed; cf. Wackernagel III p 34 f. and references in small print there). Or again, the instrumental singular ending of *a*-stems (*ena*) often ends in *ā*; it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in *ā* may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p 312 *infra*; rather different is the implication of III p 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening. We shall therefore begin with—

- (a) Absolutely final *a*, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened *ā*

§428. Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm, at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264-6. The pada-pāṭhas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short *a*. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence, nor, in TS, at the end of a

landikā (Wackernagel 1 §265a, note); cf. VV I p. 174. Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables. The typical case was that in which final *a* followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the *a*.

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in *a*: thirteen of the 2d sing. impv. *-a*, eight of 2d plur. *-ta* and *-tha*, two of 2d sing. middle *-sra*, four of 1st plur. *-ma*, and one each of 1st sing. perfect *-a*, 2d sing. perfect *-tha*, and 2d plur. perfect *-a*. There are seven other cases: two of *sma* and *pra*, and one each of *ca*, *uta*, *adya*, and *sapta*. On *pr̥*, probably not to be connected with IE **pr̥*, see §§439, 449, 465.

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants. Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic *a* by *ā*, and vice versa, with perfect indifference. But some general considerations suggest themselves:

§431. First: the variant word never occurs at the end of a *pāda* or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases. (Note that in AV. 19.39.10d *surā* is a misprint for *sura*, see Whitney's note, the *pāda* is repeated without variant from AV. 5.22.3d.) One exception has been explained in VV I p. 174: *vanaspate 'ra sṛjā* (KS. *sṛja*) AV. VS TS. MS KS. For another see *nihāram* etc., §446.

§432. Secondly: only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus:

indra somam pibā imam RV. AV. SV. MS: *indra somam imam piba* RV. ŚS. Here indeed one might be tempted to understand *pibās* in the first form; but p. p. of RV. MS both *piba*. Cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on S. 17. 1.

§433. Thirdly: Otherwise the word following the *a ā* always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the *ā* is secondary (AV.; short *a* RV.) and seems due to special reasons. In both cases, as it happens, the following word is *pra*. We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy); possibly more important is the fact that *p* is a labial consonant (cf. §464):

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. *°tā*) *pra taratā sakḥāyaḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.

Kauś. The *ā* may be attracted to match the ending of *taratā*, where *ā* is in every way regular and demanded by the meter.

rhota (AV. *°tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA. This *pāda* of AV. (IS 2.2b) is RV. 10.14.14b; the preceding one is RV. 10.14.15a (these two RV. verses are jumbled in AV., see Whitney-Lanman).

yamāya madhumattamam But further, RV. 7. 102 3b has *juhōtā madhumattamam*, the first word is the first word of AV. 18 2. 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary *ā* of AV *juhōtā* is a reminiscence of *juhōtā* RV. 7 102 3b, where the *ā* is regular, in that RV. passage it was immediately followed by *madhumattamam*, in AV. it is immediately preceded by that word.

§434. With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned.

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV. VS MS ŚB TA. AŚ.

ŚŚ Both are regular, in AV *cā* plus one consonant, in the others *ca* plus two.

agne puriṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS. KS. ŚB.

Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda Perhaps *tvam* is surplusage, whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and *tvam* (if kept at all) must be read *tuam*. But since vocalic *y* and *v* do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the *ā* is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with *bhava*, that are irregular.

§435. Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short *a*. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better; it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short *a*, but in the other three *ā* is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrically long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda; this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see.

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are:

hinvā (Vait °vā) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS Vait KŚ. ApŚ.

MŚ Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait

pari ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV. °vā) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS AB ŚB.

Lengthening secondary

abhī vāñīr ṛṣṇām sapta (SV °tā) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

vidma (Kauś text °mā; read °ma with AV.?) *te svapna janitram* AV.

Kauś (pratīka only).

adha sma (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣnam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °nam *astu kṛṣnam*) RV. SV. VS TS MS. KS. ŚB Lengthening secondary.

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB.

asti hī śmā (TS MS. KS *astu sma*) *te śuśmānn avayāh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

adyā (SV GG Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV. SV AB KB AA TA. MahānU AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ AG ŚG. GG. Svidh.

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final in its pāda, are:

vahā (TB. N *vaha*) *devatrā didhīṣo* (MS. *dadh°*) *havīṣi* MS KS TB N. *upa* (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °nā *ihāvatam*) MS. TB. TA

indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam (AV *nu pra* [read *prā*, §449] *vocam vīr°*) RV. AV. MS ArŚ AB KB TB. AA N. Note that *ā* is clearly secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464).

§438. In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the verse. All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical; and that one is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda. In two cases the order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different positions. Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d, and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz, six, four, and six times respectively. It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas before the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last. But of these sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth, one case each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagatī pādas, and the sixth of an anuṣṭubh. This summary indicates that, except where metrical requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that precedes the cesura). In the last part they occur as a rule only when the meter requires a long syllable.

§439. In the first syllable of a pāda

pra (KS *prā*) *na āyur jīvaṣe soma tārih* RV KS AB GB Vait MŚ. It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS has preserved a historic

representative of IE **prō*. Cf. *pra* (*prā*) *smā mināly* (*minoty*) *ajarah*, §512, which probably belongs here, and §449.

§440. In the second syllable:

hṛva (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS. Vait KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *vahā* (TB N. *vaha*) *devatrā dīdhiṣo* (MS *dadh°*) *havīṣi* MS. KS. TB N. *vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramaṁ guhā yat* RV. AV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. ApMB

vidma (Kauś °*mā*) *te svapna janitram* AV Kauś.

adyā (SV. GG Svidh *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV. SV. AB KB. TB AA. TA MahānU AŚ ŚŚ. ApŚ AG. ŚG GG. Svidh

upa (MS. *ulā*) *no mitrāvarunāvīhāvalam* (MS °*nā ihāgalam*) MS. TB. TA.

§441. In the third syllable:

juhota (AV °*tā*) *pra ca tīṣṭhata* RV. AV VS TA

pretā (TS *upa preta*) *jayatā narah* RV. SV. AV. VS TS Read *pra-īlā* in RV. etc TS seems to have tried to improve the meter, but only makes it worse

janīṣvā (MS °*ṣva*, RV. KS. °*ṣta*) *hī jenyō agre ahnām* RV. TS MS. KS. ApŚ.

adha sma (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °*nam astu kṛṣṇam*) RV. SV VS TS MS KS ŚB.

§442. In the fourth syllable:

varivasya mahāmaha (SV. °*syā mahonām*) RV. SV.

īam ā prna (TB. *prnā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV TB

ut tīṣṭhata (AV Kauś °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyah* RV. AV VS ŚB. TA.

Kauś See §433

ā juhutā (TB. ApŚ °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV ŚB TB ApŚ (pratikā)

ramayata (KS °*tā*) *marutah śyenam āyannam* (MŚ. *marutah pretam vājinnam*)

TS KS ApŚ MŚ Three mss of KS. *ramayata*

asti hī śmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuṣmān awayāh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB

§443. In the fifth syllable, before the cesura:

udīrayathā (MS MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS °*ta*) *marutah samudratah* RV. AV TS. MS KS. AŚ.

yatrā naś cakrā (Cone *cakra* for KS with one ms, but ed *cakrā* with others) *jarasam lanūnām* RV VS MS. KS. GB ŚB ApŚ ApMB. HG.

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛlaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

§444. In the sixth syllable of anuṣṭubh:

indra somam pibā imam RV. AV. SV. MS.. *indra somam. imam piba* RV. ŚŚ See §432.

§445. In the seventh syllable of jagatī

pari ū śu pra dhanva (AV *dhanvā*) *vājasātaye* RV AV SV KS AB
 ŚB The third syllable after the cesura in triṣṭubh-jagatī meter
 tends to be long

§446. In the eighth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī

apo devīr upa srja (MS *srjā*) *madhumatīh* VS TS MS KS ŚB

brhaspate pari dīyā (TS *dīya*) *rathena* RV AV SV VS TS MS KS
 No real variant, since *dīya* ends a *kandikā* in TS, see §428 and VV
 I p 174

agne puriṣyādhīpā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless
tvam be deleted, see §434

vanaspate 'va srjā (KS *srja*) AV VS TS MS KS Also belongs here
 properly, see §431 and VV I p 174

dyumantam śuśmam ā bhara (SV *bhara*) *svarvdam* RV SV

adītsan vā (MS *dhīpsyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyam*) *saṁjagara* (TB
 °jagārā, MS °cakara) *janebhyah* MS TB TA

vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (MS † KS † °mā, MS p p and TS *jāgryāma*)
purohitāh VS VSK TS MS KS

yasmād yoner udārūthā (KS °tha) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS TS
 MS KS ŚB

sapta yonīr (KS *yonīnr*) *ā prnasva* (TS KS TB °svā) *ghṛtena* VS TS
 MS KS ŚB TB

ekayā ca daśabhīś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV VS MS ŚB TA AŚ
 ŚŚ

bhagemām dhīyam ud aṣā (TB † ApMB † *ava*) *dadān nah* RV AV. VS TB
 ApMB

nīhāram in nī me hara (TS † *harā*) TS KS The TS form is quoted
 as a case of lengthened final *a* in TPr 3 12, the actual quotation
 there includes the following word *nīhāram*, which is the initial of
 the next pāda There is no doubt of the pāda-division; the pāda
 is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh But the lengthening of *a* final in its
 pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be
 assumed Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption
 that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following *nīhāram*),
 or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading
 intended in the samhitā-pātha is not *hara* but *harās*, subj. and not
 imperative This was wrongly analyzed by the p p as *hara*,
 and hence arose the TPr rule on the subject This variant should
 then be added to VV I §152 We do not count it in our figures
 for this section

§447. In the ninth syllable of jagati:

abhi vānār ṛṣinām sapta (SV °lā) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

§448. In the tenth syllable of triṣṭubh:

ṛirebhīr aśvair maghavā bhavā (TS °va) *nah* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS No true variant, since *bhava* ends a *kandikā* in TS; cf §428 and VV I p. 174.

gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA °lā, MS °trā) *vāḥ* (MS *veḥ*, TA *vaḥ*) VS MS ŚB TA Cadenced prose, imitating triṣṭubh meter; hence lengthening secondarily in TA Note that TA is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable

§449. Different syllables, with change of meter:

idam me prāvātā vacah RV VS TS KS TB : *oṣadhayah prāvata vācam me* MS : *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position.

indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam (AV *nu pra vocam vīr°*, but most mss., SPP, and Whitney Transl *prā* for *pra*) RV AV. ArS MS. AB KB TB AA N—Ppp (Barret, JAOS 48 47f) like RV On *prā* cf. §439 and 437

(b) Words in which absolutely final *a* varies with *ā*, the *ā* being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds

§450. Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, altho it remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor We include here adverbs in *tra* or *trā*; adverbs in *tha* or *thā*, *dha* or *dhā*; gerunds in *ya* or *yā*, instrumentals from *a* stems in *na* or *nā*; and neuter nom-accs in *ma* or *mā*; also one variant of *acha achā*. It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending *yā* is probably older than *ya*), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda (cf §438) Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pāda

§451. *Adverbs in tra trā*, viz *yatra*, *tatra*, *aitra* There is a suffix *trā*, whose independence of *tra* seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, *Grammar*, §1099a), the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem So far as we have noted, our variant forms in *trā* always accent the stem Still, the existence of the *trā*-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix *trā* may be at least suspected

§452. In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second. It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has *ā*

yatrā (MS. **yatra*, AV. **yenā*) *nah* (AV **te*) *pūrve pitarah paretāh* (RV. MS.* *pareyuh*) RV AV. (bis) MS (tris).

yatrā sapta rṣin (TS KS *yatra saptarṣin*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS TS MS KS. N.

yatrā (TS *yatra*) *suhārdah sukrto madanti* (TS. °*te*) AV. TS

atrā (AV. *tatra*) *yamah sūdanā* (TA °*nāl*) *te minotu* (AV *kṛnotu*) RV. AV.† TA

tatrā sadah (SV. *tatra yonim*) *kṛnavase* RV. SV. KS

tatrā (SV *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatih* RV. SV.: *tatra indro bṛhaspatih* VS

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā itī bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV. SV

atrā (VS *atra*) *jahīmo* (RV TA *jahāma*, AV *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV. *aśvāh*, and *asan drevāh*; VS ŚB 'śvā *ye asan*) RV AV. VS. ŚB. TA

§453. Adverbs in *tha*, *thā*, and *dha*, *dhā* Among the variants are found only *atha*, *athā*, *adha*, *adhā*, and one case of *ittha*, *itthā*. Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have *ā*. The only form that usually ends in *tha* is *atha*, and *adha* is the only one usually ending in *dha*. The numerous forms in *thā* and *dhā* may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms *athā* and *adhā*. There is this time no difference in accent. The *itthā ittha* variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has *ā*.

§454. In the seven *atha* and *adha* variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one, but the following syllable is long also in every case but one.

atha (AV *adhā*) *māsi punar āyāta no grhān* AV HG

adha (TB *adhā*) *vāyum nyutah saścata svāh* RV VS MS TB

atha *viśve arapā edhate grhah* TS : *adhā viśvāhārāpa edhate grhe* VS

atha jivir (read *jivir*, see Whitney) *vidatham ā vadāsi* AV.. *athā jivī*... ApMB : *adhā jivī vidatham ā vadāthah* RV

adha syāma (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhaya*) *grheṣu* AV MS KS ApŚ.

athā (AV *atha*) *devānām vaśanīr bhavātī* RV AV. TA.

athā (TS.* *atha*) *bhava yajamānāya sam yoh* RV. TS MS KS. AŚ. No true variant, the short *a* once in TS (3 2 11. 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *landikā*; see §428. This shows that after all the lengthening to *athā* was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to sandhi

§455. For completeness we add here the single case of *ithā* varying with *ittha*. The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts. It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of *atha*. Of course the original and regular form is *ithā*, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final *ā*, §477: *ihetha* (AV °*thā*) *prāg apāg udag adharāk* AV. GB AŚ ŚŚ Vait

§456. *Gerunds in ya yā*. According to Whitney, *Grammar* §993a, 'fully two thirds' of the RV forms in *ya* have *ā*, as if instr sing forms of *i* or *ti* stems. This, together with the fact that these *yā* gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort. It is likely that the gerund ending was originally *yā*, and that the later regular ending *ya* is secondary.

§457. In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a pāda, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening: *hranyayāt pari yoner nṣadyā* (MS °*ya*) RV MS ApŚ

vanaspate raśanayā nṣyūyā (MS °*ya*, KS TB *raśanayābhīdhāya*) RV. MS KS TB AŚ N

viśvā agne abhnyūjo vīhatyā (AV TB °*ya*) RV AV MS KS TB

rudrāḥ samsrjya (MS °*yā*, TS ApŚ *sambhṛtya*) *prthwīm* VS TS MS. KS ŚB ApŚ

matrah samsrjya (MS °*yā*) *prthwīm* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

§458. *Instrumentals of a-stems in na nā*. In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in *ā* assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the *a*. There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns *tena* and *yena*, these three forms are initial in their pādas. In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a triṣṭubh pāda, so that the meter requires a long, which RV. has, while SV. substitutes short *a* against the meter. In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short:

kavir gīrbhīh kāvyenā (SV °*na*) *kavīh san* RV. SV

tenā (AV TB Poona ed and MŚ ed *tena*, but all mss of MŚ *tenā*) *sahasraśāndena* AV TB ApŚ. MŚ: *tena vāyam sahasravaśena* TB ApŚ

tena (AV *tenā*) *vāyam bhagavantah syāma* RV AV. VS. TB ApMB.

yena vahas sahasram VS MS. ŚB · *yenā* (KS *yena*) *sahasram vahas*
AV TS KS. Vait

§459. *Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom masc) in ma mā* (once, a *ā*) Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle. Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc *ā*, neut *a*). Sometimes there is a change of number altho the ending short *a* in the neuter plural is twice as common as *ā* (Whitney, *Grammar* §425d), nevertheless *ā* is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened *a*, despite the fact that the pp regularly writes *a*. Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible, and cf Wackernagel III §145h. There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both *ma* and *mā* appear to be certainly neut sing, so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf Wackernagel III §145b).

§460. The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a triṣṭubh once, thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with *pr*-(cf §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long, the following one is long just half the time. *śarmā* (TA °*ma*) *sapraihā āvr̥ne* KS TA · *śarma yachātha sapraihah* (read °*thāh* with all mss, cf Lanman, *NInfl* 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case. *vyomā* (TS °*ma*) *saptadaśah* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ—BR assume a change of gender here in *vyoman*. The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant.

ayam sahasram ānavo vidharma (ApŚ °*mā*) SV ApŚ MŚ. Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula, rather change of gender, neut to masc, in ApŚ. Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey).

brahma (ApŚ °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā rtasya* PB ApŚ. Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ masc, 'priest of the gods'). *rtasya brāhma* (AV *bhūtānām brahmā*) *prathamota* (emended by RWh in AV to *prathamō ha*) *ajāne* AV TB. The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended. But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation; see Whitney's note.

tan no brahmā (TA °ma) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Here also there is change of gender (MS *brahmā*).

trinśad dhāma (MS. MŚ *trinśāddhāmā* as one word) *ri rājati* RV. AV. SV ArS VS TS MS KS ŚB The MS understands its compound as of masc gender.

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS MS TB. AŚ ŚŚ : *brahmā devakṛto-pahūlā* ŚB Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŚB

varma (AV. °mā) *śvayadhvam bahulā pṛthūni* RV. AV. KS ApŚ. Both forms here are plural; and so in the next.

yatra gavām nuhātā sapta nāma (AV. *nāmā*) RV AV. Cf. prec ; note the variation at the end of a pāda.

tava śravānsy upamāny ukthyā (SV. °ya) RV. SV. The only case of a n pl in a ā not from an n-stem

§461. One case of the preposition *acha achā*. The original quantity of the final *a* is uncertain; but in RV. it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s. v.). One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, believes that *achā* is original.

acha yāhy ā īvahā dāvyaṁ janam RV.: *achā no yāhy ā vaha* RV.SV.

We consider that *vahā vaha* in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final *a ā* in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads *vahābhi*, fusing *vaha* with following *abhi*. The p p, of course, always reads short *a*.

(c) Short *a* as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened

§462. Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as *vani* and *vin*), so short *a* as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions. And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way.

§463. The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where *a* is absolutely final. So the *ā* is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants. But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect. The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases. Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse. There are five metrical

variants of a *ā* before the suffix *vant*, in every one the variant syllable is second in the pāda

§464. Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before *v*. If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially *p* and *m*, exert the same influence, cf. above, §§433, 460. Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants — For compounds of a privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see §§469 f.

§465. *Prepositions in final a*, optionally lengthened in composition. All the cases are prose. In two-out of three the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

apamityam apratīṭṭam yad asmi AV (pratikas in GB Vait Kauś)
yāny apāmityāny apratīṭṭāny (TB Poona ed. °*itāny*) *asmi* TB
 ApŚ (Metrical in AV, but prose in TB ApŚ)

upāvir (TS ApŚ *upa*°) *asi* VS TS MS KS ŚB. KŚ ApŚ MŚ See
 pw VII p 325

prayāsāya (VS *prā*°) *svāhā* VS TS KSA TB TA. On *prā*, not to be identified with IE **prā*, cf. §§429, 439

[*prāśanebhīh* (MS KS *pravanena*) *saṃśasah* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
 Probably to be derived from root *pru*, rather than *pra* + *vana*
 See §491]

§466. Other compounds. The variation occurs thrice before *p* and twice before *v*. The first three cases are metrical, the others prose. For variations of the adverb *uttarā* with the stem *uttara* in composition see §476

āvīte dyāvōprthivī rītvṛdhau MS KS *āvinne dyāvōprthivī dhṛtavrate*
 TS TB. And (in same passage) *āvītau* (TS *āvinna*) *mitrā-*
varunau dhṛtavratāu (TS °*nāv rītvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
 Note *ā* before *v* alone, but short *a* before *vr-* (the syllable being long already). Cf. §665

sahasrapoṣam subhage (TS *°*gā*) *rarānā* RV TS MS KS SMB
 ApMB *sahasrāpoṣam subhage rarānā* AV Kauś

īde agnim svavasam (AV *svāvasum*) *namobhīh* RV AV MS TB AŚ
 Only the AV truly belongs here, as a compound of *sva* with *vasu*.
 The others have a compound of *su* with *avas*.

deva samsphāna sahasrapoṣasyeṣe (AV *sahasrā*°) AV TS *sahasra-*
poṣasyeṣe SMB (Conc. quotes the latter again for AV TS,
 but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase)

dvārapāya svāhā, dvārapāya svāhā, dvārapopa sprśa, dvārapya upa sprśa,
 all HG *dvārā*° etc., ApMB

[*brhaspatinā rāyā svagāhṛta* TS : [*svagāhṛta mahyam* MŚ. Conc *svagal*° for MŚ]

§467. *Formations in vant and vin* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tait texts to prefer *ā* before these suffixes, and Maitr texts short *a*, but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed, we have seen (§§238 ff) that they did not occur originally after *a* vowels. The first five variants are metrical

aśvavat (RV *aśvā*°) *soma vīravat* RV SV VS.

indravanto (TS *indrā*°) *maruto viṣṇur agnīh* RV AV. TS. KS †40 10b.

puspavatīh (TS *puṣpā*°) *supṛpalāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB

puspavatīh (TS V1Dh *puṣpā*°) *prasūvarīh* (TS °*vatīh*, AV. KS °*matīh*)

RV. AV VS TS MS KS

sṛkāhasā (TS KS *sṛkāvanto*, MS. *sṛgavanto*) *niṣaṅginah* VS TS MS KS

indravān brhad bhās svāhā KS. *indrāvān svāhā* TS TB : *indravān svavān brhad bhāh* MS

dūrehetur indriyāvān (PB †°*yavān*) *patatrī* (PB °*trīh*) TS PB TB PG ApMB

vātāvān varṣan bhīma rāvat svāhā MS. *vātāvad varṣam ugrar āvṛt svāhā* TS. *vātāvān varṣann ugra rāvat svāhā* KS

agnīndrayor aham devayajyayā vīryavān indriyavān bhūyāsam MŚ. *indrāgnīyor* (MŚ °*nyor*) *aham devayajyayendriyāvy annādo* (MŚ °*drīyavān vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS MŚ. *indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvī* (KS °*yāvān*, MŚ °*yavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS KS MŚ

guṣṭam devebhyo havyam ghṛtāvat (TS *ghṛtāvat svāhā*) TS MS

dhīṣanās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīh (MS MŚ *dhīṣanā tvā devī viśvadevyavati*) *prthivyāh sadhasthe* VS TS MS KS ŚB. And so with *adītiḥ tvā* (°*tiḥ tvā*) *devī*, *devānām tvā patnī devīr*, *janayas tvāchinnaṣatṛ devīr*, *varūtrayo janayas* (*varūti* ī, etc) ; *gnās tvā devīr*. All in same texts, Maitr always reading *viśvadevyā*°, the others °*vyā*°

[*somam le kṛtīnāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam vīryāvantam* TS KS Conc *vīryavantam* for TS]

§468. *The reduplicating syllable* Two cases, in both the following consonant is *m* or *v*

trīta etan (AV. *īṣṭa enam*, comm *etat*, read *etan* or *enan*) *manuṣyeṣu māmrje* (AV *mamrje*) AV TB. The AV form is more usual but bad metrically; TB (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem *māmrj-* (found RV)

sucanto agnam vavrdhanta (AV $vā^\circ$) *indram* RV. AV KS The regular form is va° but forms with $vā^\circ$ are found in RV.

(d) Final \bar{a} optionally shortened to a , and other a \bar{a} either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds

§469. We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' a \bar{a} Real phonetic shortening of \bar{a} is not common In most of the following variants both short and long a can be justified morphologically We begin with an interesting group concerning a privative and the preposition \bar{a} Some of these concern lengthenings of a privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition \bar{a}

§470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV form $\bar{a}deva$, 'godless', is the same as $\bar{a}deva$, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV itself A somewhat dubious theory on $\bar{a}deva$, rejected by Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV 6 49 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II 1 p 131

viśa ādevīr abhy āśnavāma RV *viśo adevīr abhy ācarantīh* RV AV. AB *bhuva* (SV *bhuvo*) *viśvam abhy ādevam* (SV ad°) *oṣasā* RV SV Here the \bar{a} may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the cesura, with short a we have a tribrach

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of a privative are.

adāyo (TS $adāyo$, MS $ādāyo$) *vīrah* (AV $adaya$ $ugrah$) *śatamanyur indrah* RV AV. SV. VS TS MS KS In pw I p 297 it is said that $ādāya$ is an error for $adaya$ But the p p repeats the form, it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from $\bar{a}-dā$

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS *yavā āyavā ūmā tevā abdas*) *sagaraḥ sumekah* MS KS MŚ : *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah sagarah sumekah* TS ApŚ The forms *yava(n)*, $yā^\circ$, and *ayava(n)*, $ayā^\circ$, are used with great confusion, but the a - seems to be felt as privative, the y -forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the ay° forms the latter half The form with \bar{ay}° is not noted except here and in the next, it seems to be equivalent to ay°

saṣṭūr abdo (MS * $abdā$) *ayavabhāh* (TS ApŚ '*yāvabhāh*, MS MŚ *āyavabhāh*, KS *āyavabhāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ Cf preceding

§472. In the next we have a clear case of the preposition \bar{a} varying with a privative.

yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah AV · *yām apīlā upatiṣṭhanta āpah* LŚ

'Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon': 'whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon'

§473. In the rest, real phonetic shortening of *ā* seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants, cf the similar law in Pāli and Prakrit (§§393 ff.) The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them a privative may be involved; so in the first

svastidā āghṛnīh (TB TA. *aqh°*) *sarvavīrah* RV. AV. MS TB. TA This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly contains the preposition *ā* The form *aghṛnī* is recorded in no lexicon. Comm. on TB desperately takes the *a* as privative *asodhavyadīptīh* (!). The comm on TA varies in different mss, one reading is *ūgaladīptīh* (taking *a* as = *ū*) The reading adopted in Poona ed is *adīptīh*, *asmāsu anugrahī*, which is not utterly unreasonable, cf the classical *aghṛnī* (pw II p 286, 'nichts verachtend') But cf also *pūṣne 'nighṛnaye svāhā*, §300, where the yet different form *añghṛnī* occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for *āghṛnī*

aśleṣā (TS *āsreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS. Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly *āśleṣa*, both these forms are otherwise unknown BR. derive *aśleṣa* from a privative, but *āsleṣa* (*āśr°*) from the preposition *ā*, this is hardly credible The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other The prevalence of *ā*-forms suggests that *a-* is a case of shortening before two consonants

ā no vīṣva (MS *°vā*) *āśkrā* (TB *vīṣve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS *°la*) *devāh* RV MS TB AŚ The word is obscure, *askra* seems to be otherwise unknown Comm on TB *ābhūmukhyena kantārah santah*, which implies *ā* and supports BR's derivation from *ā* plus root (*s)kr* (Sāyana derives from *kram*) This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group.

§474. There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of a privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders The *ā* forms occur each time only in TB. Bibl Ind ed, and each time the Poona ed reads short *a* in text and comm without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts *arādḍhyā edidhiṣūpatam* VS. *ārādhyar jādhiṣūpatam* TB Conc 'For misfortune'

aśādham (TB Conc *aṣ°* or *āṣ°*) *yulṣu pṛlanāsu papṛim* RV VS VSK MS. TB AŚ ŚŚ 'Unconquerable'

aśādham (TB *āṣ°*, Conc) *ugraṇ sahamānam ābhīh* RV. AB TB

§475. Next, a few cases of final *ā* of feminine stems, optionally shortened to *a* in composition and before *rant*. They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II 1 §56e that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case
nāsikārate (TS °*kavate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

amāyān māyavatārah ŚB.: *māyām māyavatārah* AB

idaprajaso (KS *idā*°) *mānavih* TS. MS KS

śirahpāṇipādapārśvapṛṣṭhorūdarajañghaśiśnopasthapāyaro (MahānU. °*pṛṣṭhodarajañghā*°) *me sudhyantām* TA. TAA MahānU.

ūrnamradasam (TS. TB. ApŚ. *ūrṇā*°) *tvā stṛṇāmi* (KS *ūrnamradah prathasva*; Kauś *ūrnamradam prathasva*) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*) *derebhyah* VS. TS KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kauś : *uru prathas- rorṇamradam svāsastham derebhyah* MS.

§476. The adverb *uttarā* varies with the adjective stem *uttara* in composition:

mītrāvaruṇanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā derebhyo uttarāsadbhyah (VSK. *uttara*°) *svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

ye devā mētrāvarunanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas (VSK. *vottara*°) *tebhyah svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

§477. The rest are sporadic. The stem *aś/a-āśā* belongs with noun formation rather than here; *ā* occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, III p. 358). On *itthā-ittha* see §455; on *achā*: *acha*, §461. Otherwise we record here only the form *viśvāhā* or °*ha*, and a couple of lexical variants:

śivā viśvāha (VS. and p p of MS. °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (MS °*jā*; TS *viśvāha-bheṣajī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. (Cf. *vratam rakṣanti viśvāhā* etc., §511).

The reading of MS p p. suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of *viśva* and *ahan*, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut plur. in *a-ā*, cf. §§459 f.).

ati rā (AV. *atira*) *yo marulo manyate nah* RV. AV. *vā va*

yad indra cūra mehanā (SV. PB *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ N

See §832

athem ara sya (AV. *athemam asyā*) *vara ā pṛthivyāh* AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ
 'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth': 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth . . .'

2 Non-final a ā in verb inflexion

§478. In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, a medial varies with ā. Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between āya and aya in denominative stems (VV I p 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in u from denominative stems, showing the same shift.

devān devayate (TB ApŚ MŚ *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ *yajamānāya svāhā*)
RV SV. KS TB. ApŚ MŚ

agne prehi prathamō devayātām (AV. *devatānām*, MS KS *devāyatām*)
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB The verse is meant for jagatī in all except AV.; meter favors *devā°*.

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV *amitrā°*) RV. AV. TS. KS
devayuvam (TS TB *devā°*) *viśvavārām* (AŚ °re) TS. ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ
devīr āpo agreguvo . . . devayuvam (VSK *deva°*) VS VSK ŚB.

§479. Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p 155).

vasoṣpate nī ramaya (N *rām°*, so v 1 of AV) AV. N : *vasupate vī ramaya*
MS

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS : *yavayāsmad dieṣah* VS TS ŚB. Kauś . *yavaya*
(v. 1 *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS : *yavayāsmad aghā dveṣānsi* TA.

yāvayārātm KS . *yavayārātīh* (MS. Kauś °tim) VS TS. MS ŚB Kauś
The p p of MS has *yāvaya*

tatra havyānī gāmaya (KS *ga°*) RV. KS TB ApŚ MŚ But von
Schroeder reads *gāmaya* in KS with one of his three mss

§480. There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation; see VV I p. 187, to which our first variant should be added

adītsan vā (MS *dhīpsyam vā*, TB *yad vādāsyān*) *sanjagara* (TB. °jagārā,
MS °cakara) *janebhyah* MS TB TA These are first person forms,
so that either a or ā is permissible by regular grammar
yat sāsahat (SV *sāsāhā*, KS *śāsāhat*) *sadane kam cid atrinam* RV SV.
KS

bibheda valam (AV. AŚ *balam*) *bhrgur na sasāhe* (AV. *sasahe*) AV. SV.
AŚ ŚŚ The ā is probably due to the meter here, in the middle it
is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, *Grammar* §793h).

But the AV. form is itself not regular, it should be *sehe*

svām cāgne tanvam (TA *tanuvam*) *pīprayasva* (AV. *pīprā°*) RV AV. TA.
MahānU See VV I p 187 The ā here disturbs the meter, but
is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form.

§481. There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing *a* or *ā*, or sigmatic aorists with *ā* varying with other aorists or presents in medial *a*. They are mostly collected in VV I pp 128 f, 186. On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following.

ānyāvākṣid (VS *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāni* VS TB Cf also *grāvāvadid* (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*, so KS ed, with *v* 1 as Conc) *abhi somasyānsum* (ApŚ *śunā*) KS ApŚ

§482. Subjunctive forms with an ending containing *ā* often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short *a*. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152-4, 167f). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots *dā* and *dhā* which show alternatively *a* and *ā* (VV I §193), or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial *ā.a*, VV I pp 180f, and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples.

ayann (TB ApŚ *āyann*) *arthāni kṛnavann apānsi* RV KS TB ApŚ *ahā yad dyāvo* (AV *devā*) *asuntim ayan* (AV *āyan*) RV AV *āyan* is imperfect indicative, *ayan* subjunctive.

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift. We shall quote only one of the dual endings *-tam* and *-tām*, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337.

ā mā gantām (VSK † *iam*) *pitarā mātārā ca* (VSK † *yuvam*) VS VSK 10 3 12c, TS KS ŚB Subject voc in VSK, nom elsewhere. Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs.

3 Non-final *a ā* in noun formation

§483. In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear, the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group.

§484. Most of them fall into two classes. First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having *a* and the other *ā* in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually tho not always the same. Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense. Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the *vṛddhi* of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this *vṛddhi*. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite.

§485. Under primary formations with radical *a* or *ā*, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems *yava(n)*, *yavas*, *yāv°*, and *ay°*, *āy°*, to which attention has already been drawn in §471. The original form of the word in question is unknown:

sajūr abdo (MS **abdā*) *ayavabhīh* (KS *āy°*, TS ApŚ *'yāvabhīh*, MS.

MS *āyavabhīh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MS

yavā ayavā ūmā abdah (KS *āyavā ūmā ũvā abdas*; TS. ApŚ *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah*) *sagarah sumekah* TS MS. KS. ApŚ MS

yavānām (TS *yāv°*) *bhāgo* 'sī VS TS MS KS ŚB

ayavānām (TS *ayāv°*) *ādhipatyam* VS TS MS KS

yavās cāyavās cādhipataya āsan VS MS KS ŚB : *yāvānām cāyavānām cādhipatyam āsū* TS

§486. Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix *a* is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either *a* or *ā* in the root syllable, type *bhaga bhāga*. They call for no comment: *subhagamkaranā mama* AV. *subhāgamkaranam mama* SMB. Most *samhitā* mss of AV *subhāg°*.

mām agne bhāginam kuru ApMB : *mām indra bhaginam kṛnu* AV

samsrāvabhāgā (*°gāh*, *°gās*, VS ŚB KŚ *samsrava°*) *śheṣā* (Kauś *taviṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS TS MS KS ŚB. Kauś

namah parnāya (TS KS † *parnyāya*) *ca parnaśādāya* (TS *°śadyāya*, VS. *°śādāya*) *ca* VS TS. MS KS.

prālah prālahsavasya (ApŚ. MS *°sāvasya*) *śukravato*... ŚB. KŚ ApŚ MS *prālahsāva* is the only form known to RV, but the other is commoner later

prālah prālahsavasyendrāya (ApŚ MS *°sāvasyen°*) .. KŚ ApŚ. MS *śrāvās* (VS. *śravaś*) *ca me śrutis ca me* VS. VSK TS MS KS. *śravaś* might be taken as an *s*-stem, but not *śrāvās*

kṣuro bhrajaś (TS *bhrjvāñ*, MS *bhrjaś*, VS *bhrājaś*) *chandah* VS TS. MS KS ŚB.: *bhrajaś* (KS ed † *bhrā°*, v 1 *bhra°*) *chandah* VS (in next verse) TS KS (in same verse) ŚB. Comm. on VS *bhrajaś* for *bhrā°*.

vahnih samtarano (TA *sampārano*) *bhava* VS TA. Different but synonymous roots

§487. Forms in primary *ya*, practically gerundives in meaning:

yad bhūtam yac ca bhavyam (AV **ArS* VS *bhā°*, AV. **yad vā bhāvyaṃ*)

RV AV (bis) *ArS* VS TA. Comm on AV and Ppp *bhav°*

Metrical lengthening, possibly

ullarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtah (TB also *°iā*) TS ŚB TB : *upahūto 'yam yajamāna* (MS *°nā*) *ullarasyām devayajyāyām* (MS. *°yājyāyām*) MS AŚ ŚŚ

§488. Forms in other suffixes.

havanaśrun (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhī* RV TB *hāvana-* is not otherwise recorded from root *hū*

dūṣikābhīr hrādunim (KSA † *hra°*) TS KSA : *hrādunīr dūṣikābhīh* VS MS. The word is not otherwise recorded with short *a*, if KSA is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of *hrada*

dwācarebhyo (MG °*cārībhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* MG V1Dh · *ahaścārebhyah* ŚG (Sc. *namah* in both) Also. *naktamcarebhyah* ŚG. V1Dh · *naktamcārībhyo bhūtebhyah* MG Stems *cura* and *cārīn*

tataṁ me apas (TB ApŚ. *ma āpas*) *tad u tāyate punah* RV KB TB AŚ ApŚ Both *apas* and *āpas* are Rigvedic

vrātāni (MS TB ApŚ *vrātā nu*) *bibhrad vrātapā adabdhah* (TB ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG *adābhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG Here the gerundive varies with a participle.

§489. The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations, occasionally they may be lexically different in origin

adāyo (TS *adāyo*, MS *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV ed with p p *adaya ugrah*, but mss *adā°*, and so comm) *śatamanyur indrah* RV AV. SV VS TS MS, KS On the initial *ā* of MS see §471 The second *ā* is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV comm). Possibly 'without a share' (*dāya*), tho this fits none too well For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS and note

marudbhyo grhamedhībhyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baśkīhān* (MS. *vaś*, ApŚ *bāśkīhān*) VS MS. ApŚ. Cf §219 The word is obscure, is the *ā* somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ?

īṣat ApŚ · *vaśatīkārāh* AG ŚG If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss of ApŚ *vaśat*) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation *vaśat*

ākhuḥ laśo mānthālas (MS *mānthālavas*, VSK *māndhālas*) *te pitṛnām* VS VSK MS : *pāñktrah* (KSA † *pāñktrah*, but mss of both texts *pāñtra-*) *laśo mānthālavas* (KSA † *man°*) *te pitṛnām* (KSA † *pitṛ°*) TS KSA See §77

hemantāya laharān (KSA † *lahārān*) VS MS KSA ApŚ Name of an unknown animal or bird

[*śīśirāya vīkalarān* (KSA † *vīkarān*, Conc *vīlārān*; ApŚ *vīkīrān*) VS KSA ApŚ]

āstām jālma (KS *jālma*) *udaram śranśayitā* (KS *srans°*) AV KS.

nāhro maharah kulīpayas (TS *kulīkayas*, MS *pulīkayas*, KSA *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA † *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS KSA Read *kūvārasya* in KSA; see §198

śanderathas śandikera ulūkhalaḥ ApMB.: *śāndikera* (PG *śaundikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* HG PG Fanciful names of demons

ākluh śjayā śayandakas te mairūh (KSA *śayāndakās te mairyāh*, em in ed to *'kas te mairāh*) TS KSA · *śārgah śjayah śayāndakas te mairāh* VS. MS The word *śay°* is obscure, and may have been originally a compound

vāśā stha VS TS ŚB TB ApŚ. *vaśāh stha* MS KS MŚ. Addressed to waters *vāśā* probably 'bellowing' (BR and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Sāyana's guesses); *vaśāh* 'cows' It is held by some that *vāśā* is connected with the root *vāś*, 'bellow'.

§490. Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having *vriḍhi* in the first syllable and the other lacking it

tisraś ca rājabandhavīh (HG. *°vaih*) HG ApMB. *prajāh sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (MG *°vyah*) PG MG : *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavīh* (ŚG † *°bāndhavaiḥ*) AG ŚG (Oldenberg suggests reading *°vīh* in ŚG) Alternative stems *bandhava* and *bān°*, both from *bandhu*

mitrāvarunau praśāstūrau praśāstrāḥ (KŚ *prā°*) KŚ ApŚ MŚ. The office of the *praśāstṛ* is *praśāstra* or *prā°*

dvyam suparnam vāyasam (AV *payasam*, KS VS ŚB TS * *vayasā*, MS TS * *vayasam*) *brhantam* RV. AV VS TS KS MS ŚB. AŚ. *Suparn vāyasa* and *va°* both 'bird', *vayasā* is instr of the unrelated *vayas* 'strength'.

dhiṣanāsi parvatī (TS TB ApŚ *°iyā*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*, but KS mss *par°*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. In the Tait texts a secondary adjective *parvatya*, in the Maitr. school an equivalent *pārvaṭa*, the form *parvatī* must also have the same meaning (Mahīdhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening); it is too well attested to make emendation advisable See next

prah tvā parvatī (TS TB *°ur*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS KS ŚB TB MŚ See prec Twice in KS, once the sole ms has *parv°*, the other time *pārvo°*, but KapŚ *parv°*

gārgī (AG *gargī*) *vācakanavī* (sc *trpyatu*) AG. ŚG. Patronymics, *gārgī* is to be expected See next

śākalyam ŚG *śākalam* AG (with both sc *tarpayāmi*) Read no doubt *śākalyam* in ŚG (misprint, Oldenberg's translation has *Śākalya*) Cf prec

ya āntarikṣāh (so *sarpās tebhya imam balim harāmi*) HG : *ye sarpāh pārthivā ye antarikṣyā ye divyā* AG.

vāyur na īdita īditavyair devair antarikṣyair (ApŚ *āntarikṣair*) *pātu* KS ApŚ

āṅgūśānām (SV *aṅgośinam*) *avāvasanta vānīh* RV SV The SV form in this and the next is dubious

āṅgūśyam (SV *aṅgośinam*) *pavamānam sakhāyah* RV SV Cf prec *śvetāya vaidarvāya* (°*vyāya*, °*dārvāya*, *vaitahavyāya*), see §315

suvarṇastainyam avrātyam (BDh *avratyam*) V1Dh BDh Perfect equivalents

narāśanse (VS *nār°*) *somapūtham ya āśuh* (KS *ānaśuh*) VS MS KS TB

It is at least conceivable that *narāśansa*, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without *vriḍhi*

[*narāśansa śtanīṣyate* AV AŚ ŚŚ In the Berlin ed of AV. is printed the false emendation *nārā°*]

sūyavasīnī manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA °*sye*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB *mānuṣa* of KS = *manuṣa* of TA (*manuṣe* in RV. is dative of *manuṣ*, a more primitive form, all ultimately connected with *manu*, whence the dative *manave*)

agnīd rajanarauhīnau (so ed, v l *rāja°*, p p *rājan*, *rau°*) *purodāśāv adhiśraya* MS A name of a *sāman*, see note in MS, and BR s v *rājana*, which seems to be the true form; *rajana* would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable

yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB *śronī°*) *bhāsadāt* RV ApMB : *yakṣmam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV

aranyāya (MS *āranāya*) *śmarah* VS. TS MS KSA Both mean 'of distance'

kalpayatam mānuṣīh TB ApŚ. *ḍṛnhantām dauṛ viśah kalpantām* †*manuṣyāh* KS

achinno divyas (KS ApŚ *dauvyas*) *lantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ

brhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *dauvo*) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*) VSK TB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§491. In other cases a secondary formation with *vriḍhi* of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word.

śunam vāhāh śunam narah (TA *nārāh*) RV AV TA *narah*, plur of *nṛ*, *nārāh*, plur. of *nāra*, from *nṛ* or *nara*

namas te rathamārāya (AA *rāth°*) . . AA LŚ ŚŚ Both words refer to

- the Rathamtara sāman, AA. forms an adjective from the noun *rath°*, with *sāmnē* understood.
- bhūvanam asi sāhasram* (MS. **sah°*, ŚG. *sahasrapoṣam*, MS. **sahasrapoṣapuṣi*, ApŚ *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS SMB ApŚ MŚ. ŚG. Probably read *sāhasram* in MS*, note that MŚ. has this
- vāyosāntra* (TS p p °*trah*, MS *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS KSA Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar.'
- tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś* (TA *brahmā*) *ca* AV TA.
- nāsām āmitro* (TB *nainā amītro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV. AV. TB *āmītra* = 'belonging to the enemy (*amītra*)'.
- agnes tvā* (MS *agneṣ (vā)* *mātrayā jagatyai* (KS. °*tyā*, MS. *jāgatyā*) *varṭanyā*. . TS MS. KS 'with the path of the jagatī' or 'with the jagatī as path'. KS v l. *jāgatyā*
- jagad asi* MS MŚ : *jāgataṁ asi* MS. TA ApŚ : *jāgatāsi* MS : *jāgato 'si* MS MŚ All 'composed in jagatī meter'
- prabhāyā agnyedham* (TB *āgnendham*), VS TB. The TB. form is problematic, comm *agneh prajvalanākartāram*, which would make it equal to *agnyedham* Should we read *āgnyendham*, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or *āgnīndham*?
- sadyahkrīś* (ApMB *sādyaskrīś*) *chandasā saha* ŚG ApMB. *sadyaskrī* (masc !), name of an ekāha The ApMB. form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem., and there seems to be no fem noun with which it could agree
- prāvanebhūh sajoṣasah* RV. VS TS ŚB.: *pravanena sajoṣasah* MS KS The π λγ *prāv°* is doubtful; Grassmann as secondary adj, '(fires) of the abyss' But RV. p p *prav°*, possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is *v*, cf. §464). The primary word is probably to be derived from root *pru*, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of *pra* and *vana*; in that case it would belong to §465
- śāśvatībhyah* (AV ApŚ and TB Poona ed *śāś°*) *samābhyah* AV. VS TB IśU. ApŚ The adjective *śāśvata* = *śāśval*, fem forms of both
- yadī varuṇasyāsi*. Kauś : *yadī vāruny asi* Rvidh ApG.: *yady asi vāruṇī*. . GG
- yathā yamāya harmyam* (TA *hā°*) AV. TA.; and
- evā* (TA. *evam*) *vapāma harmyam* (TA *hā°*) AV TA *harmya* is recorded only here, and may mean the same as *harmya*, or be a corruption of that; but TA takes it as a secondary adj, 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun, and this is also possible
- sūpasthā asi vānaspatyah* MŚ. *sūpasthā devo vānaspatih* TS. ApŚ.

eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathah RV. SV · *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣā* VS ŚB
adhyaḥśyāyānuḥṣattāram TB †*adhyaḥśyāyānuḥṣattāram* VS
somo vaiṣṇavo rājā (AŚ ŚŚ *somo vaiṣṇavas*) . *aṅgirasas* (AŚ †*āṅg*°,
 ŚŚ *āṅgirasas vedas*) *vedas* . ŚB AŚ ŚŚ. 'The Aṅgirasas (i.e.,
 the AV) are the Veda', so ŚB The others mean the same thing.
 'the (Veda) of the Aṅgirasas'

§492. There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern
 noun formation in a broad sense First a group of variants between
āgrayana and *āgrā*°, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma,
 which is apparently derived from *agra*, the *ā* may be rhythmic in
 character. The variants seem to suggest a preference for the *ā* form in
 MS MŚ and KS, with short *a* elsewhere.

nidhanavata āgrayanah (MS KS *āgrā*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB
āgrayanaś (MS KS *āgrā*°) *ca me* VS TS MS KS
āgrayanāt (KS MS *āgrā*°) *trīnavatrayastrīṣau* VS TS MS KS ŚB
āgrayano (MS MŚ *āgrā*°) 'si *svāgrayanah* (MS MŚ *svāgrā*°) VS TS
 MS ŚB MŚ

āgrayanas te dakṣakratū pātu asau AŚ · *ātmānam ta āgrāyanah* (ApŚ
 †*āgra*°) *pātu* MS ApŚ

§493. When roots ending in *ā* are used as final parts of compounds,
 the *ā* is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common *a*
 declension

ūrnamradasam (etc, see §475) *svāsastham* (VS † ŚB † °*sthām*)
devebhyah VS TS KS ŚB TB KŚ Kauś *uru prathasvornam-*
radam svāsastham devebhyah MS

kṛṣṇo 'sy ākhareṣṭhah (MS KS and most mss of MŚ °*ṣṭhāh*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB TB MŚ ApŚ

yuvā kavh puruṇiṣṭha (KS °*ṣṭhā*) *ṛtāvā* RV TS MS KS

mītro na (MS MŚ *nā*) *ehi sumitradhah* (TS KS °*dhāh*, MS *°*dhah*
saha rāyas poṣena) VS TS MS KS ŚB

yo devānām nāmadhā (AV °*dha*) *eka eva* (KS *eko asti*) RV AV VS TS
 MS KS.

adabdhō gopāh (KS †*gopah*) *pari pāhi nas tvam* (KS *pari pātu viśvatah*)
 RV TS KS

pravāyāhne 'har jinvā MS : *pravayāhnāhar jinvā* VS The MS form is
 suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which
 are instrumental in form If correct it is a dative from *pra-va*,
 VS has instr. of *pra-vā* The root is *vā*, 'blow'

§494. Other variants involving different related or quasi-related
 noun stems

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG : *aprajasyam pautramarṛtyam* SMB . *aprajāstvam mārtaṁvalsam* AV On stems *prajas* and *prajās* (: *prajā*) see Wackernagel II 1 p 95 f

sa tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB °*sam karotu*) PG ApMB. 'He shall make thee (fem) me-minded' Stems *man-manās* and *man-manasa*

agnir adhyakṣah (TA °*śāh*) MS TA. 'Agni is overlord' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous *ā* of TA., as if from stem *adhyakṣas*! It is repeated in the comm., with gloss *svāmī*

satvanām (MS *satvānām*, KS †*satvānām*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS. KS Stems *satvan* and *sattva*; MS. has a bad writing for *sattv*°, cf §392

imām narāh (*narah*) , see §328 Nom pl of stems *nara* and *nṛ*. *tsrah kṣapas* (TA °*pās*) *trir ahātivrajadbhīh* RV TA. Stems *kṣap* and *kṣapā*

tābhīr (TB *yābhīr*) *yāsi dūtyām* (MS °*yam*) *sūryasya* RV MS TB Stems *dūtyā* and °*ya* (Pischel, VSt 1 22, Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 58 3)

agne pṛthivīpate . . . varuna dharmanām pate TB °*agne pṛthivyā* *varuna dharmānām*. ŚS Stems *dharma* and °*man* (Also listed in Conc under *varuna*)

§495. The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms as well as in composition, ending in both *ā* and *a*, the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language, cf. Wackernagel III p 358 f

aṣṭasthūno daśapakṣah Kauś : *aṣṭapakṣām daśapakṣām* AV

aṣṭābhyah (KSA *aṣṭa*°, but ed em *aṣṭā*°) *ṣatebhyah svāhā* TS KSA

[*aṣṭābhyah* (Conc wrongly KSA *aṣṭa*°) *svāhā* TS KSA]

lagnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rathamtarāyāṣṭākāpālāh (with varr) VS TS MS KSA All texts *aṣṭā*°, Conc *aṣṭa*° for VS]

§496. A couple of doubtful cases

samudrasya tvāvakayā (TS ApŚ *tvāvā*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ. *avakā*, name of a water-plant, from *ava*, *avākā* presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened *ā* before suffix *ka*, cf similar cases before *vanī* and *vin*, §467, and Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 118, where this should in that case be added Boehtlingk, 'die untere Eihaut' for *avākā*, evidently thinking of *avā(ñ)c*, Keith, 'wind', we see little reason for either interpretation.

nirṛtim nirjajalpena (MS *nirjalpena*, TS *nirjālmakena*, KS *nirjālmāka-*) *śīrṣnā* VS TS. MS KS Obscure word, see §810 TS comm., followed by Keith, 'bald'.

4. Non-final *a ā* in Noun Declension

§497. In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between *a* and *ā* is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax, that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender.

§498. First, the forms *apas* and *āpas* are frequently interchanged as nom. and acc. of stem *ap* (Wackernagel III p. 240):

śam no bhavantu āpa oṣadhayah (6.23.3 *apa oṣadhīh*) *śvāh* AV 2.3.6, 6.23.3. But mss. at 2.3.6 also *apa* (comm. *āpah*), which Whitney's Translation restores, and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter, it furnishes the desired anapest after the caesura.

apo (RV. AŚ *āpo*) *adyānu* (TS TB JB. ApŚ *anu*, AV. *divyā*) *acārīṣam* (JB *īcārīṣam*, AV *acārīṣam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB. ApG MG. Here the form is accusative.

§499. Stems in *d* do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of *pad*, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387.4, Wackernagel III p. 235 f.). The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of *sad*, not recognized as lengthening the stem *a* by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p. 237, foot.

dṛpāc catuṣpad (SV *dṛpāc catuṣpād*) *arjuna* RV SV.

dṛpāc catuṣpad (AV VS Kauś. *dṛpāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV AV VS VSK TS Kauś.

catuṣpadām uta yo (TS *ca*) *dṛpādām* AV TS *catuṣpādā uta ye dṛpādāh* KS MŚ. Here the ablaut is regular, different case forms.

viśvā āśā dakṣinasat (AB AŚ °*sāt*, ŚŚ °*tah*, LŚ °*dhak*) VS. MS AB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ.

§500. Twice Tait. texts present vṛiddhi-grade forms of *pitṛ* in the bahuvrīhi compound *dākṣa-pitṛ*, which Wackernagel II 1 p. 101 (cf. also III p. 200) properly compares with *tvāt-pitārah*.

sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (TB °*tārā*) RV. TB

ye devā manoṣṭhā (MS KS MŚ *manu*°) *sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS † °*tāras*) TS MS KS BDh VdDh.

§501. Of *n*-stems, there is one case of nom. pl. *vṛṣañah* (Wackernagel III p. 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming *vṛṣānah* *vṛṣānah* (TB *vṛṣānah*) *samudhīmahi* RV. AV SV ŚB TB.

§501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened *a*, *paśumānti*, from a *mant* stem (noted RPr 589 = 9 30), is replaced in SV by the regular form:

mīleva sadma paśumānti (SV °*mantī*) *hotā* RV SV —Similarly.

ava dronāni ghṛtavānti sīda (SV °*vanti roha*) RV SV.

§502. As to *s*-stems, the ending *as* in the neuter nom.-acc. of adjectives may be lengthened to *ās* (Wackernagel III p 288).

śarmā (TA °*ma*) *sapṛathā āvr̥ne* KS TA. *śarma yachātha sapṛathah*

AV But all mss. of AV °*thāh*, which should doubtless be read;

comm °*thah*

yachā nah (AV *yachāsmaz*) *śarma sapṛathah* (AV VS KS TA ApŚ ApMB HG °*thāh*) RV AV VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB HG ApMB N

viśām agnīm atithīm suprayasam (KS °*yāsam*) RV KS The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading, v Schr emends to °*yasam*, rather rashly, we think Cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3 (But Wackernagel III p 282 denies *ās* to other words than *uśas*) Oldenberg, *Noten*, denies ground for emending the RV, which is unquestionably conservative and wise, but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it *ayā san* (so read, MS *ayāh san*, KS ms *ayāsā*, ed emend *ayās san*) *manasā hītah* (MS *kṛtah*, p p *kṛtah*, KS *kṛtah*) MS KS TB. ApŚ ApMB HG : *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ : *ayāsā manasā dhṛtah* ApŚ ApMB HG See next.

ayā san (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san*, KS *ayā^e san*, Kauś *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG *ayasā ha^o* ū° ApŚ ApMB. HG The old adjective *ayās* becomes *ayas* in oblique cases in some secondary texts, a natural change owing to the rarity of stems in *ās*, and to the agreement of the nom. form with nouns of stems in *as* See Geldner *VSt* 3 122 n 5, Neisser, *ZWbch d RV*, s v, Wackernagel III p 282

§503. A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms

agne yan me tanvā (TS *tanuvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan ma ā pr̥na* VS TS ŚB ŚŚ PG Abl-gen sing of *u*-stem

anadvāns tapyate vahan (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ The passage of MŚ is unpublished, if correctly reported, the ending of the nom. sing. pres. pple. would be lengthened by analogy with *mant* and *vant* stems

§504. Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem *yuva-* is replaced by the later *yuvā-*:

athā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām RV.: *adhā somasya prayatī yuvābhyām*
KS But v. 1. of KS *yuva°*.

§505. Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender

svām (MS KS. *svam*, MG *sva-*) *yonim gacha svāhā* AV. VS TS MS KS
ŚB MG *yonī* may be masc or fem, the Tait school makes it fem in all the variants

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB See prec

svam (TS *svām*) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS TS † MS KS (No *svam* in TS)
yajñō bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām (MŚ *svam*) *yonim* TB ApŚ MŚ
[*svāmkrto* (KS *svam°*) 'sī VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Here both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form]

dhruvam (TS *°vām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB.

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim* ... MS KS :
mā mā hinsīh svām (KS *svam*) *yonim* . VS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ :
matnam hinsīṣam svām yonim AB

sa no dadātu tam (AV. *tām*) *rayim* AV AA ŚŚ *rayī*, masc or fem
athāsmabhyam saha virām (AV VSK MS KS *°ram*) *rayim dāh* AV.
VS VSK TS MS KS HG Cf prec

abhīmam (TS *°mām*, MS MŚ v. 1 *°mān*) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ v. 1. *°mā*)
divam (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA. ApŚ MŚ.

yā (MS *yā*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS. ŚB NilarU ApMB
iṣu, m or f.

§506. These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being *yonī*, *rayī*, and *divī*). There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender. These will be treated in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here. We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in *-am* *-ām*, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in *-ām* is an adverb, that in *-am* a masc or neut adjective:

indremam pratarām (VS TS ŚB *°rām*) *kṛdhī* (VS MS ŚB. *naya*) AV.
VS TS MS KS ŚB

ud enam ultarām (VS TS KS ŚB *°rām*) *naya* AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB
Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś

jīvātare pratarām (RV *°ram*) *sādhayā dhīyah* RV SV. SMB

drāghīya āyuh pratarām (TA † *°rām*, MG *prataram*) . RV AV. TA
AG MG And others, see §575

asmin kṣaye pratarām dīdyānaḥ SV.: *adhi kṣami pratarām dīdhyānaḥ* RV. AV.

§507. In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an *a* vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the instr. sing. and other singular oblique cases of *ā*-stems, and between the nom. masc. sing. and plur. of *a*-stems; as well as between masc. or neut. and fem. forms, treated in §§505-6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom. and accus. pronouns *tvaṃ* and *tām*. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension:

surayā (MS. KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS. †MS. °*ta*) *retāḥ* VS. MS. KS †TB. 'By (from) *surā* they generate(d) seed from urine.'

surayā (MS. *surāyāḥ*) *somah suta āsuto madāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *dīkṣayedam* (KS. *dīkṣāy°*) *havir āgachataṃ naḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. All mss. and ed. of KS. read so; but it seems that it must be an error for *dīkṣay°*.

ā yat tṛpan maruto vāraśānāḥ (MS. °*naḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS.

pra candramās tirate (TS †°*ti*, AV. †°*mas tirase*) *dirgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N. Nom. voc.

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ (AV † *devaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. *devāḥ* voc. pl.; *devaḥ* (lect. fac.) nom. sing. Ppp ms. *devāḥ*, wrongly emended to *devaḥ* by Barret JAOS 35. 88.

namaḥ kṛtsnāyatayā (VSK °*yatāya*)... VS. VSK. Others, §311. Metathesis of quantity in VS, which simulates an instr. fem. but is really uninterpretable

tām (TB. *tvaṃ*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV. MS. KS. TB. The construction is changed; both readings are construable.

5 Non-final *a:ā* lexical and miscellaneous.

§508. In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix *ā* vary with forms beginning in short *a*, of different origins; cf. the cases of *ā* and *a* privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short *a* is the augment:

vedhām āśata (SV. *medhām āśa°*) *śriye* RV. SV. †

ākṛān (TA *ākṛān*) *samudrah prathame vidharman* RV. SV. PB. TA.

MahānU. N. Comm. on TA. *ākṛān ākrāntavān vyāptarān*. *āgann apāna ātmānam*... ŚŚ.: *āgan prānaḥ svargaṃ*... ŚŚ.

āganma (AŚ *ag°*) *viśvavedasam* VS ŚB AŚ

āganma (SV *ag°*) *vr̥trahantamam* RV SV AA ŚŚ

ūrdhvo adhvare asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvara *āsthāt*, KS 'dhvare *sthāh*, ApŚ *adhware sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

agnaye samudham āhārṣam (ŚG GG *ahārṣam*) AG ŚG SMB GG PG HG ApMB

yad gharmaḥ paryavartayat (MŚ *paryā°*) TB ApŚ MŚ

ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām AV SPP, Berlin ed *ajagan*, with slight ms authority, some mss *ājagan*, see Whitney's note on AV 19 49 3

§509. Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition *ā*, before forms in short *a*

agne (RV. *agne*) *yāhi suśastibhih* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

aryamāyāti vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān TS · *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāt* MS KS
patho anaktu (AV KS °ti, TS *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghṛtena* AV VS TS MS KS,

āsmāsu (KB *as°*) *ṛṣmnam dhāt* (KB *dhāh*) MS KB TA ŚŚ

lāny antah puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ °ṣa *ār°*) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

lāny antah puruṣe arpitāni (AŚ Vait °ṣa *ār°*) VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Vait
yasmun sūryā ārpitāh (KS †TB TA *ar°*) *sapta sākam* AV KS TB TA
indram yajñe prayaty ahvetām (TB Conc *āhv°*, Poona ed *ahv°*, comm. *ahv°* with v l *āhv°*) VS TB

agnayaḥ upāhvayadhvam Vait : *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SMB

agne gr̥hapala upa mā hvayasva KS ApŚ MŚ In Vait *upa + ā*
[*antarikṣam* (VS *ān°*) *prihvim adṛnhit* VS TB But Poona ed of TB *ān°*, which is clearly right]

§510. The pronouns *asmat* 'from us' and *asmāt* 'from him, it' exchange:

kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV. TS* *mumukṣam*) *asmat* (KS *asmāt*) RV. AV. TS MS KS

praty aupalām (MS *ūh°*) *āśvinnā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV *asmat*) AV VS TS KS MS TA

§511. The rest are miscellaneous.

vratam rakṣanti viśvāhā AV · *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV Probably both forms are adverbial (not compounded with *-ahan*), and the penultimate vowel lengthened in the RV form for some obscure reason, cf *śivā viśvāhā* ('ha) etc, §477.

ye te panihāno bahavo janāyanāh AV. · *ye te 'ryaman* (KS *arya°*) *bahavo delayānāh* TS MS KS † 10 13a *jana-ayana deva-yāna* But rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here

gharmam pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °tā, see §448, MS °trā) *vāḷ* (MS *vet*, TA *vat*) VS MS ŚB TA *vat*, *vāḷ*, or *vet*, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation

āhalag (MS *ah*°, TS TB *āhalam*, KSA *ahalam*) *iti vañcati* (TS. TB *sarpati*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB An onomatopoeic interjection All texts may intend *āh*°, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final -ā, comm on VS TS *āh*°, p p of MS, to be sure, *ah*°, in default of comm or p p there is no evidence as to which KS intended

aṇnārasya parah putrah ŚB āhnārasya parasyādah ŚŚ Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships

śataḥśaraś chandasānuṣṭubheṇa ApŚ śatākṣarachandasā jāgalena Kauś The Conc suggests *śatākṣ*° in ApŚ, but probably wrongly, Caland, 'der hundertstromige' (*sruva*).

agdhād eko . samasanād ekah TS . adhvād eko . . sanād ekah sanāsanād ekah MŚ See §181

agnaye tvā mahyam āyur (MS *mayo*) *dātra edhi* VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

añlāñham (MS *añlāv-añham*, so p p, KS *añkañham*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB The curious shortening in KS seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening) Cf §362

āptye (AV *apriye*) *saṁ nayāmasi RV. AV* See §878

vātajavar (HG *vātājavar*) *balavadbhir manojavair* MS HG. See §268
gāva upavātāvatam (SV *upa vadāvate*) RV SV See §60

āntrīmukhaḥ HG ālikhann . . hantrīmukhaḥ PG. See §386
vśvaḥkarman bhauvana mām didāsitha (ŚB *manda āsitha*) AB ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840

§512. Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous-

pra smā mināty ajarah RV KS . prāsmā minoty ajarah ApŚ We cannot interpret *prāsmā*, unless as *prā* (for *pra*) *smā* (for *sma*). In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439

nīlagalasālā AV. 6 16 4c nīlagalamālāḥ śivah paśya NīlarU. 22b The true reading of NīlarU. is certainly that of AV, see Jacob's *Concordance* s v, two mss and the comm read so, and the comm quotes AV 6. 16 4

aśīrṣānā ahaya (SV. °ṣāno 'haya) *va RVKh SV : aśīrṣāna wāhayah AV* But we must read in RVKh as in SV, with Scheftelowitz (p 106).

agnis ca dahatam prati AV. SV. Misprinted *āgnis* in AV, see Whitney's note

atṛā (AV *atṛa*) *yamah sādānā* (TA. °nāt) *te minotu* (AV *lṛnotu*) RV AV TA. Conc *sadanā* for AV

asmān devāso 'ratā (Conc. 'rata) *hateṣu* AV † And others, all with *atātā*

ā na indo śatagvinam (SV. misprinted *śāta*°) RV SV. See Benfey's Corrigenda

arṛān (GB *ārūān*) *chi somakāmam tūhuh* GB etc Gaastra correctly *arṛān*

vīre devā udīcyām tu abhiṣṭāntu (error for °cyām tvābhi°) *śreyase* Rvidh. *udīcyām tū dīśi vīre devāh . . abhiṣṭāntu* AB.

jāmim (KS *īcamī*) *mā hinsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS TB MŚ *mā jāmim moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV The KS (one ms only) must certainly be emended to *jāmim*

paramāna vidharmanī RV SV Once misprinted *paramānā* in SV. corr Benfey's Corrigenda

ītrīṣāharam sāma gāya (correct Conc) MS ŚB MŚ *prastotar vīṣāharam sāma gāya* ApŚ

CHAPTER XII VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513. In contrast to the *a ā* variants, those between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character. In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between *i ī* and *u ū* as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology. To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long *i* and *u* declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences. On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an *ī* or *ū* historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence—See §§300-2 for variations between *ī*, *ū*, and short *i*, *u*, plus nasal, and §§395-8 for the like before single and double consonants.

1 Final short *i* lengthened phonetically

§514. We begin with cases in which final *i*, originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of *a ā*, we include not only absolutely final *i*, but *i* in the seam of compounds, before the suffix *vant*, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final *i*.

§515. The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a *pāda*. (On the one exception to this last, see §518.) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short. A majority of the variants are prose, of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the *pāda*. Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (*obhe aprā rodasī vi [vī] śa āvāh*, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for *i* to be lengthened before *v*, but also before *r* and sibilants (cf. §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).

§518. The only other absolutely final *i* *i* concerns the imperative ending *dhi*, which appears sometimes as *dhī*, probably under the same general conditions as final *ā* for *a* in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur; we may note that in the pāda: *sa no bodhi śrudhī havam* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ several mss of MS. read *śrudhi*, but the printed texts are all alike. The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Conc. Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following pāda begins with *havam*, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (*Quant* II 51), and approved by Oldenberg (*Proleg.* 421), that the lengthening in RV. is due to the common cadence *śrudhī havam* (cf. *RVRep* 673, top). In all texts but one this pāda has *śrudhī*, and that one (AŚ) is the only one in which the word *havam* does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there).

imam me varuna śrudhī (AŚ *śrudhi*) RV SV. VS TS MS KS AŚ. ApMB.

§519. Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants, the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of *i*).

imam agne camasam iā v jihvarah (TA *jī°*) RV. AV. TA AG. *vyyapsyata* (AŚ *yī°*) *iva te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ ŚŚ Desiderative from *yabh*, the form with *yī°* is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots.

udgrābhenod ajgrabhat (KS *ajgrabham* and *ajgrbham*) MS. KS.

§520. There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of *i* before the suffix *vant*.

mādhyamdinasya savanasya nṣkevalyasya bhāgasya śukravato (ApŚ adds *manthivato*) *madhuścuta* (KŚ * *manthivata*, v. 1 *manthī°*) *indrāya* (MŚ *savanasya śukra° manthivato nusk° bhāgasyendrāya*). . KŚ (bis) ApŚ MŚ Stem is *manthin* (weak *manthī*) + *vant*.

parameṣṭhī tvā sādayat . *raśmivaṭīm* (MŚ *raśmī°*) MS KS.

§520a. In one case *i* is required in composition with a derivative of the root *kr*, while the *i*-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an *in*-stem before *cārin*:

ima udvāsikārīna ime . . TB ApŚ *imā uddhāsīcārīṇa ime* . . . MŚ.

Cf §59

§521. And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of *i* as stem final of its first member: *yā te agne harīṣayā* (VSK *harī°*, MS MŚ. *harā°*) *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahvar- eṣṭhā* VS. VSK ŚB. (Pratīkas MS MŚ.)

2 Final *i* in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522. No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel II 1 §56 e-g (cf also Leumann, *Gurupīṭhakaumudī* 13 ff). It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening, that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, *i* was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis

§523. Radical *i* is shortened in the word *senānī*, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527), the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS alone has the shortening:

tasya rathagṛtsaś (KS *ṛtsaś*, MŚ *ṛtsnaś*) *ca rathauḡś ca senānī-grāmanyau* (TS *senām°*) VS TS MS KS ŚB And so with *tārṅṣyaś cārṣṭanemiś ca*, *senajic ca susenaś ca*, *rathaprotāś* (TS *rathe°*) *cāsamarathāś ca*, *rathasvanaś ca rathecitraś ca*

§524. The other cases concern the feminine nouns *prthivī* and (once) *prapharvī*.

yā devy aṣṭīṣṭake prānadā prapharvīdāh (ApŚ *°vīdāh*) KS ApŚ *namo 'gnaye prthivīkṣīte lokasṛīte* (ChU *prthivīkṣīte lokakṣīte*, MU *prthivīkṣīte lokasṛīte*) TS KSA ChU. MU.

prthivīśadam (MS *prthivī°*, VS *†°śadam*) *tvāntarikṣasadam* (VS *ṛaddś dīśisadam devasadam*) . . VS. TS MS KS ŚB TB

prthivīśprān (MS *prthivī°*) *mā mā hīnsīh* MS TA

ye devā dīvībhāḡā . . *ye prthivībhāḡās* (TS KS *prthivī°*, but 2 mss of KS *°vī°*) TS MS KS

svadhā pūrṭhyah prthivīśadbhyah (MŚ GG *prthivī°*) AV ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG HG

3 Miscellaneous final *i*-*ī*

§525. There is very little else On *na ced avedī* (*avedī*) etc, see §530 below, it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final *i* or *ī*.

agne tvam sūktavāḡ asy upaśruṭī (MS. *°ti*, TB *°śruṭo*) *dīvas* (TB *dīvah*) *prthivyoh* MS ŚB. TB AŚ. ŚŚ The form is locative of an *i*-stem:

MS is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?)
ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devī* (AV. KS *devī*) *prathamānā prthag yat* (AV. °*mānā purastāt*) AV KS. ApŚ. MŚ Nominative and vocative
stomatrayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī TS KS AŚ : *stomas trayastrinśe bhu° patnī* MS As prec see §818
sam devī (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā* . . . TS KS ApŚ
rātri (TB *rātrī*, v. 1 of KS *rātrih*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV KS TB
satyād ā (ApŚ *satyā tā*) *dharmanas patī* (Vait MŚ *parī*) AŚ Vait ApŚ. MŚ
aśvinendram na jāgrn (TB ° *vī*) VS MS TB. The -*vī* form is a dual adj., and so Mahīdhara takes the -*vi* form also; but possibly it may be a neut sing adverb
gāyatrī (MG °*trī*) *chandasaṁ mātā* (MG *mōtah*) TA. TAA MahānU. MG Nom : voc
na śīsarīdata (HG † *śīsarīdatah*) ApMB HG See §384.

4 Noun stems in *i ī*

§526. It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax, many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged. Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations. Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned.

§527. We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably *ī*. First, a case of the stem *senānī*, where the root *nī* 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel. In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition:

namah senābhyaḥ senānībhyaś (VS TS °*nībhyaś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS

§528. In the same context occurs the following variant. Boehtlingk takes the form in short *i* from a stem *śvan-in* 'having dogs', while he derives the other from *śva-nī* 'leading dogs', this seems improbable in the light of the variants, both are probably from *śva-nī*, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahīdhara, followed by Griffith and Keith).

namah śvanībhyaḥ (MS *śvanī°*) *mṛgayubhyaś ca vo namah* VS MS KS : *namo mṛgayubhyaḥ śvanībhyaś ca vo namah* TS

- Other cases of probably original *ī* are
- sucakṣā aham akṣībhyām* (MG *akṣi*°) *bhūyāsam* AG PG MG N The *ī*-form is regular in the older language Wackernagel III p 303
- varūtrīm* (KS † *varu*°, TS, *varūtrīm*) *tvaṣtur varunasya nābhim* VS TS KS ŚB *tvaṣtur varutrīm va*° *nā*° MS MŚ
- rātrīm-rātrīm* (AV TS *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam bharantah* AV TS MS KS ŚB
- rātrīm* (KS *rātrīm*) *jñva* TS KS PB Vait
- rātrīm* (TS *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS KSA
- śam rātrī* (VS *rātrīh*, VSK TA *rātrīh*) *prati dhīyatām* AV VS VSK MS TA
- rātrīm* (SMB PG MG °*rīm*) *dhenum wāyatīm* (AV *upāyatīm*) AV HG ApMB SMB PG MG
- ye rātrīm* (KS °*rīm*) *anulīsthantī* (KS † °*sthatha*) AV. KS
- prati tvā parvatī* (TS TB °*tr*, MS KS MŚ *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS TS MS KS. ŚB TB MŚ See §490
- veṣaśrīr* (TS ° *śrūr*) *asī* TS KS GB PB Vait LŚ
- mahīnām* (VSK *mahīnām*) *payo* 'sī VS VSK TS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG Even from the stem *mahi*, the VSK form would be anomalous
- hrādunābhyah* (KSA °*nābhyah*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA This is uncertain, both short and long *ī* are otherwise known RV has *hrādunīm*, but *hrādunī-vrī* See also *dūṣikābhīr hrādunīm* etc, §543
- śimībhih* (KSA † *śimī*°, VS *śamī*°) *śimiyantu* (VS *śamī*°) *tvā* VS TS KSA §529. But in the rest stems in short *ī* seem to be primary.
- svāhākṛtābhyah* (TS ApŚ and most mss of MŚ °*kṛtī*°) *preṣya* TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'To hail-makings', suffix *ti*
- ayāś cāgne* 'sy *anabhiśastīś* (AŚ ApMB HG °*tiś*) *ca* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG Suffix *ti*, as in the last
- ākūtīm* (SMB °*tim*) *devīm manasah* (SMB °*sā*, AV *subhagām*) *puro dadhe* (SMB *prapadye*) AV TB SMB As prec
- ātīr* (TS KSA *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA *vāyavyāh*) VS TS MS KSA *ātī* is R̥gvedic
- abhiśrīr* (HG °*tr*, ApMB *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca no grhe* (RVKh *ca me dhruvā*) RVKh ApMB HG
- dīva* (*divas*, *divah*) *skambhanīr* (VS ŚB ° *nīr*, VSK † *skambhany*) *asī* VS VSK TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ Here fem gender is responsible for the long *ī*
- śīrah-śīrah prati sūrī vī caṣṭe* TS ApŚ *śīro devī prati sūrīr vī caṣṭe* KS Here too *sūrī* is made fem, agreeing with a fem entity

- śronibhyām (TS. śronī°) śrāhā TS KSA
 yakṣmanī śronibhyām (ApMB °nī°, v 1 °nī°) bhāśadāt RV. ApMB :
 yakṣman bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāśadam AV
 matrāvarunau śronibhyām (TS śronī°) TS. KSA
 śam methur (ApMB śam te methi) bhavatu śam yugasya tardma (ApMB.
 tṛdma) AV. ApMB
 ṛtūn prṣṭibhiḥ (KSA em prṣṭibhiḥ, ms bhr°) TS KSA Cf. Macdonell
 and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2 358 f.
 prṣṭibhyah (KSA † prṣṭī°) śrāhā TS. KSA
 imām khanāmy oṣadhīm (ApMB °dhīm) RV. AV. ApMB
 oṣadhibhyah MG · oṣadhibhyah ŚG.
 kratvā varuṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV : kratve rare sthmany āmurim
 uta SV.
 sam arir (VS ŚB arir) vidām (KS vidah) VS MS KS ŚB Nom
 sing of stem arī; the anomalous VS ŚB. form is noted in BR,
 s. v. 2 arī
 adhā jivri (AV. atha jivri, ApMB athā jivri) vidatham ā vadāri (RV.
 vadāthah) RV AV. ApMB Stem jivri (or, with most mss of AV.,
 jivri). RV. has a dual form; ApMB an isolated sing. from a stem
 in ī, perhaps due to confusion between the RV. and AV. forms.
 On the ī of the initial syllable see §544
 plāśir (TB °śir) ryaktah śatadhāra utsah VS MS KS. TB.
 ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī . . MS · ambā dulā nilatnir . . TS.
 apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah RV : apo mahī vṛnute caḥṣuṣā tamah
 SV TB. Here we have a complete change of construction, in
 addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form
 ri te bhinadmi takarim (KS °rim, AVPpp [Roth] tagarim, AV mehanam)
 AV TS KS ApŚ. See §49 There is no way to determine the
 original quantity of the r here
 §529a. There are also cases in which a nom. sing in ī, apparently
 from a stem in in, varies with one in ih from a stem in i:
 ryānaśih (SV. °śi) pavase soma dharmabhiḥ (SV dharmanā) RV SV.
 tan no danti (TA. °tiḥ) pracodayāt MS TA MahānU Comm on TA.
 mahādantah
 dūrehetir indriyāvān (PB † °yavān) patatrī (PB. °trih) TS PB TB PG
 ApMB · dūr° patatrī vājnivān MŚ. MG
 suparno avyathir (SV. °thi) bharat RV SV
 §530. In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also
 verb forms:
 na ced avedī (BrhU avedī) mahatī vīnaṣṭih ŚB BrhU. So Conc, with

the printed texts But *avedi* is only Boehtlingk's emendation; mss *avedi* The Kānva recension, however, has *avedir*, and Kena Up (not in Cone) *avedin*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [this, it is] a great disaster') *avedir* would be nom sing of a noun stem *avedi* 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster' *avedi* is taken by comm as nom sing of *avedin*. 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingk's additional one!

5 Verb forms containing *i* *ī* and *ī* *ī* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

§531. This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character:

suśamī śamīṣva (TS TB *śamīṣva*, KS *śamīṣva*) VS TS MS KS TB
avanti asya pavīlāram (SV. *pavī*) *āśavah* RV SV The shortening of SV. improves the meter (anapest after cesura)

§532. The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure.

anīlārikṣam purītātā (TS *purī*°, MS *pukī*°, KSA *pukī*°) VS VSK TS
 MS KSA

ūlo halikṣno (TS *ūlo halī*°) . VS TS MS KSA Name of some animal A theory as to the origin of this *ī* in Wackernagel, I §39 note

§533. At least in origin, the *i* of the *iṣ* aorist represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf VV I p 189.

tena (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvarunāv* (MS *ōnā*) *avīṣam* (TB *avī*°) RV MS
 TB The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin The *i* of TB is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avī* So in the next

amīmadanta pīlāro (Kauś also *patnyo*), *yathābhāgam* () *āvṛṣāyṛṣala*
 (AŚ *ōyīṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ LŚ Kauś SMB GG KhG Cf
 prec

mā tvāgnir dhanayīd (TS °yīd, KSA °yed, MS. *dhanayīd*) *dhūmagandhīh*
RV VS TS MS. KSA. This is the converse of the preceding;
TS shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms
ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhī yodhi TS · *adah su madhu madhunābhī*
yodhīh RV AV SV AA MŚ On the anomalous TS form see
VV I p 27

ā gharṃ agnir ṛṇayann asādī (TA °dī) RV. TA : *ā gharṃ agnir*
amṛto na sādī MS See VV I §84

§534. Probably rhythmic in character is the *ī* which varies with *i*
in denominative stems before the *ya*-sign, cf. VV I p 155, and above
§478 where the same shift occurs between *a* and *ā*:

putrīyantah (AV *putrīyanti*) *sudānavah* RV. AV SV
janīyanto nv (AV. *janīyanti nāv*) *agravah* RV SV AV. AŚ. ŚŚ

§535. In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening
of *i* in stem syllables, at least it occurs in positions where the meter
favors a long

prati śma (SV *sma*) *deva rīṣatah* (SV *rīṣ°*, and so p p. of RV. and MS)
RV SV MS KS TB The p p readings confirm our opinion that
the *ī* is metri gratia

avāmba (VS ŚB KŚ *ava*) *rudram adīmahi* (VS ŚB KŚ *adī°*, and so
v 1 of MS KS MŚ, and p p of MS) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§536. But the 'same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some
cases where it cannot be rhythmic, the explanation varies and is some-
times obscure:

sarvān patho anṛnā ā kṣīyema (AV. *kṣī°*) AV TB TA ApŚ The root
kṣi 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with *ī*, perhaps under
the influence of the other root *kṣi* 'perish', from which *ī* forms are
familiar

yūpāyocchrīyamānāyānubrahī (MŚ °chriya°) ApŚ MŚ Here the *ī*,
in the passive of *śri*, is regular, and is probably to be read also in
MŚ with most mss

samīṅgayati (ŚB *samī°*) *sarvatah* RV ŚB BrhU The root *īṅ* appears
sporadically as *īṅ* in the Brāhmanas, the true reading of BrhU
is *samīṅg°* in this passage (text emended)

§537. Jumbled participial forms of the parallel roots *ṇi* and *jyā*, *jī*
ajitāh (TA *ajītāh*, ApMB and one ms of HG *ajītā*) *syāma śaradah*
śatam TA ApMB HG

vājino vājajito vājam sasṛvānso (KS *jigvānso*, TS *sasṛvānso vājam*
jigvānso) . VS TS KS ŚB

§538. We have classified the form *īyāna* 'going', as a reduplicated present from root *i*; see VV I p 126.

īyānah (SV *īy°*) *kṛṣṇo daśabhīh sahasraṇh* RV SV. AV KS TA
ślotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav īyānah (SV *īy°*) RV. AV SV.

§539. The participle *īdita* appears as *id°*, probably under the influence of the nouns *id*, *idā*.

īdūto (MS KS. *id°*, VSK. *īd°*) *devair harivān abhiṣṭah* VS VSK MS KS
 TB

§540. The present and past passive participles of root *ḷṣi* 'perish', *kṣīnat* and *kṣīna*, are concerned in the following:

namo vḷṣīnatkebhyaḥ (TS KS *vkṣīnak°*) VS TS KS ŚB. *nama ākṣīnakebhyaḥ* MS If MS. is right it has a blend of the other two readings, but the mss vary, and it is likely that *ākṣīnak°* was intended

The 3 plur perfect ending *ire* appears once as *īre*:

tāh prācyā (Vait. *°yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KS † *°ire*, Vait *sanji-gāire*) KS Vait. MŚ : *prācīś cojagāhire* ApŚ

6 Noun suffixes containing *i* i

§541. Twice in MS the suffix *īya*, representing *ya* after two consonants, appears as *īya*; but both times the p p. of MS has *īya*:

namo agrīyāya (VS KS *'gryāya*, MS *'grīyāya*) *ca prathamāya ca* VS TS
 MS KS

sahasriyo dyotatām (TS TB. *dīpyatām*; MS *sahasriyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB.

§541a. We have quoted in §249 (q v.) three variants in which AV. reads *varīyah* for older *varivah*:

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV. *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asmabhyam mahi varivah sugam lah* RV

sakhā sakhibhyo varivah (AV. **varīyah*; so one ms of GB ; Ppp. *varivah*)
kṛnotu RV AV **TS* KS. GB

tvaṣṭā no atra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *kṛnotu* AV. TS

§542. Several times forms in *īna* vary with other forms containing short *i*:

yā sarasvatī veśabhagīna (ApŚ. **viśobh°*, KS *veśabhaginī*) ... MS KS
 ApŚ *-bhagīna*, from *bhaga*, seems to be found only here; KS substitutes a more regular form (fem of *bhagin*).

tiraścīrājī (MS *tiraścīnarājī*) *rakṣatā* AV MS Again *īna* varies with *in* (weak stem *i*)

namo yuvabhyo nama āśīnebhyah RV ApŚ : *namo yuvabhyā āśīnebhyas*

(MS *āṣi*^o, p p *āṣi*^o) *ca vo namah* (MS *namo-namah*) MS. KS. *āṣina* is *ἄπ λεγ* in RV, in MS it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in *ina*

§543. The shortening of *i* to *ɪ* before suffixal *ka* may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings Cf Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 95 f, 111 *dūṣīlābhū hrādunim* (KSA *†hra*^o) TS KSA . *hrādunīr dūṣikābhū* VS MS

7 Miscellaneous *i* and *ɪ*

§544. Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious: *imkāraya*, and **krlāya* (KSA *im*^o, VS MS ŚB *him*^o) VS TS. MS. KSA ŚB TB ApŚ

īryatāyā (TB *ir*^o) *akṛtavam* VS TB From the equivalent adjective forms *īrya* (RV) and *īrya*, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf Neisser, *ZWbch. d RV*, s v. *īrya*)

uṣṭārayoh pīlvayoh (ApŚ *pīlvayoh*) MS ApŚ MŚ Cf the word *pīlu* or *pīlu*, name of a tree Obscure

vidvī yāmann avardhayan VS *vidvīr yāman vavardhayan* TB Comm on TB *dr̥dhaśaktayah*, that is equivalent to *vidu*, for which *vidu* is not recorded

adhā jūrī (AV *atha jūrīr*, most mss *jūrīr*, which Whitney would restore; ApMB *athā jūrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV *vadāthah*) RV. AV ApMB Various theories connect the obscure word with either *jyā(ji)* or *jr*. The *i* in the first syllable in ApMB is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of *jīv* or of the *i* forms of *jyā* or *jr* (*jīrna* etc) See §529

anamīvāsa idayā (MS *anamīmāsā idayā*, p p *idayā*) *madantah* RV MS. TB AŚ The MS form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of *id*^o cf the lexically quoted *idā*), corrected in p p *dame-dame suṣṭutyā* (TS ^o *itr*, MS ^o *īr*, AŚ ŚŚ ^o *itr*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV ^o *nau*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām iyanā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ Different case forms of an *i*-stem See §236

sanderathaś sandikera ulūkhalah ApMB . *sāndikera* (PG *saundikeya*) *ulūkhalah* HG PG See §489

§545. The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations, thus in the first:

subhūtāya pīpīhi (MS *pīpīhi*) MS TA. ApŚ And others, with *iṣe*, *ūrje*, *brahmavarcasāya*, etc In MS always *pīpīhi*, probably from *pā* 'drink', while *pīpīhi* is from *pyā(pī)* 'swell' The result, how-

- ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity; cf VV I p 182
- sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak* (TB ApŚ *abhiṣṇāt*) RV AV VS MS KS TB ŚB. ApŚ See §142
- sudītir asī* TS PB : *sudītir asī* KS GB Vait : *sudītinādītyebhya ādītyān jinvā* MS Boehtlingk: *sudīti* Anklang an Adīti, *sudīti* glanzvoll (*dī*) *Sudīti* is Rigvedic
- vīśvam id dhītam* (MS *dhītam*) *ānaśuh* (SV. *āsata*) RV AV SV MS ApŚ Roots *dhī* and *dhā*
- tigmam āyudham* (AV *anīkam*) *vīditam* (AV *viditam*, KS *°dham īditam*) *sahasvat* AV TS MS KS See §169
- kavir yah putrah sa im ā* (TA *sā imāh*, Poona ed *sa imā*) *cakela* RV AV TA N
- atī vā* (AV Kauś *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate nah* RV AV Kauś Meta-thesis of quantity
- śam padam magham* *†rayīṣine na lāmam* (AA *rayīṣane na somah*) SV AA *rayi-ṣin rayi-san* (so Keith, or, *-sani*)
- ghasīnā* (ApŚ *ghasīnā*) *me mā sampṛkthāh* VSK ApŚ Corruption in ApŚ, perhaps for *ghāsīnā* (RV *ghāsi*), with metathesis of quantity? Cf Caland's note
- ā yāhi śūra haribhyām* (SV KB ŚŚ *hariha*, AŚ *harī iha*) AV SV KB AŚ ŚŚ Doubtless read, in all except AV, *hariha* (= *harī iha*), with Whitney on AV and Keith on KB
- gaurīr* (TB TA *°rī*, AV *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣatī* RV AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG.
- indrāpūsyā phaligam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya śephām alīkam* HG See §46
- samiddho agnir vṛṣanāratar* (AV *°nā rathī*, ŚŚ *°nā rayir*) *dīvah* AV AB AŚ ŚŚ
- rūdhānsīl* (MS MŚ *°sī*) *sampṛcānāv* (MS MŚ *°nā*) *asam°* MS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ
- nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* FA *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS And others, see §180
- [*atīkīritam* (comm *°rītam*) *atīdanturam* TB So Conc. with Bibl Ihd ed, probably misprint, Poona ed comm with text *atīkīritam*]
- [*†vañhīrīr* (so all!) *āsīasya svadhītiḥ sam eti* RV VS TS KSA]

8 Final u lengthened

§546 As with the *a* and *i* vowels, we include here cases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of

compounds, or before the suffix *mant*, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of *i* and *u*, and add nothing further to the subject.

§547. Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *ū* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *su*. All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short. In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u*, and *ū* is introduced in a secondary text (MS):

o śu (MS *śū*) *varita* (MS KS *varita*) *maruto mpram acha* RV. MS. KS. *taṁ ū* (MS *u*) *śucim śucayo dīdhvāṁsam* RV. ArS TS MS KS

imam ū (MS *u*, p p *ū[m]*, and MŚ *ū*) *śu tvam asmākam* (TA ApŚ. *tyam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA ApŚ MŚ.

idam ta ekam para ū (TB † ApŚ † *u*) *ta ekam* RV. AV. SV. KS † TB.

TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ (*u-ta = uta*) On *puru*: *purū*, a matter of noun inflexion, see §555

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root *gup*; the *ū* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening. Cf. VV I p. 182:

grhān ayūgupatam yuvam AŚ: *grhān* (MŚ *grhān*) *jugupatam yuvam* MS MŚ

prajāṁ me (ApŚ **no*) *naryājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ. v. 1 °*jūgupah*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ.

paśūn me (ApŚ **nah*) *śansyājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ. v. 1 °*jūgupah*) MS MŚ ApŚ

dhanam me śansyājugupah KS: *śansya paśūn me*

'jugupas tān me pāhy eva ŚŚ. And others in the same passages

ahvrbudhnya mantram me 'jugupah (v. 1 °*jū*) . . . MŚ.

§549. There is one doubtful case before the suffix *mant*

savitre tvārbhumate (VS ŚB *tvā r̥bhu*°, MS *tvārbhu*°) VS MS ŚB

TA. If MS understands a form of *r̥bhu*°, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it. But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MS (see §916), and two mss. read *svārbhūmate*

§550. In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition *anu*, lengthened to *anū*. The change occurs before either *v* or *r* in every case but one (cf. under §516)

anuroham jinvā Vait. *anuroho* (KS *anū*°) 'si TS KS GB PB Vait.

anurohāya tvā PB Vait.: *anūrohenānūrohāyānūroham jinvā* MS

(with p p and v. 1 each time *anu*°).

anur̥d (KS *anū*°) *asī* KS GB PB Vait.: *anur̥te* (KS. *anū*°) *tvā* KS

PB Vait. *anur̥tam jinvā* Vait.: *tanūr̥tānūr̥te 'nūr̥j jinvā* MS

panthām anūr̥gbhyām (KSA *anu*°) TS. KSA

anukāśena bāhyam MS : *anūkāśena bāhvyam* VS *antarenānūkāsam* TS KSA.

§551. Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of *u*, in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts

samdhitā samdhitam (MS °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB and p p of MS *puro*°, MS *puru*°) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB

urūnasāv (TA *uru*°) *asutr̥pā* (AV TA °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA *ulu*°) RV AV TA AŚ

mithucarantam (TS *mithuś ca*°, KS *mithū*°, AV *mithuyā ca*°) *upayāti* (AV *abhuyāti*) *dāṣayan* AV TS MS. KS

sindhoh śinśumārah (KSA † *śisū*°) TS KSA. *samudrāya śiśumārah* VS MS See §305 Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain

§552. Aside from one or two compounds where the *ū* *u* concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff), we find further only compounds of *su* (*suyama*) and its opposite *ku*, appearing also as *sū*, *kū* (cf also §563).

brahmanas pate suyamasya (MS *sū*°, p p *su*°) *viśvahā* RV MS TB
The *ū* is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura)

suyame me adya ghr̥tācī bhūyāstam svāvrtau sūpāvrtau ApŚ *suyame me 'bhūyāstam* VS ŚB. *sūyame me 'dya stam svāvrtau sūpāvrtau* MS MŚ

kuyavam ca me 'kṣitś (VS °*itam*) *ca me* VS MS KS (v l *kū*° in MS)
akṣitś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS

9 Final *ū* shortened

§553. Only one variant, concerning the old adverb *kū* 'where?', which appears in SV as *ku* before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic, or quasi-Prakritic shortening

kṣit̥ho (read *kū ṣit̥ho*) *devāv aśvinā* RV *ku ṣit̥hah ko vām aśvinā* SV
See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 5 74 1

10. Long and short *u* in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554. The words *hanu* and *tanu*, compounds of -*bhū*, and a few others, vary between *u* and *ū* forms, in case-forms and in composition

hanūbhyām (KSA *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS KSA TB ApŚ
hanubhyām (TS *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavah* VS TS MS KS In this and the prec Taitt. texts alone have *ū*, the others *u*

agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS.† °nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS : *agnih sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.

śūrāso ye tanūtyajāḥ (TA. *tanu°*) RV AV. TA. Note that two consonants follow the *ū*, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening

vyam te yaṣṭyā tanūh (VSK *tanuh*) VS VSK ŚB ApŚ.

avasyur (VS ŚB °syūr) *aśi duvasvān* VS. TS' MS KS PB ŚB ŚŚ

śundhyur (VS TS. °yūr) *aśi mārjāliyah* VS. TS MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.

Only -yu in RV.

ārādhyai (see §474) *†dīdhīṣūpatim* TB . *arūddhyā edīdhīṣūhpatim* VS (on the latter see §381)

varenyakratūr (AV. °tur, ApŚ. *īdenyakratūr*) *aham* RVKh AV. ApŚ.

Whitney calls °tūr 'an improvement'. See also §383

vibhūr (PB *vibhur*) *aśi pravāhanah* VS. TS MS ŚB. TB PB ApŚ. MŚ

vibhūr (KSA *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA *prabhuh*) *pitrā* VS. TS. MS.

KSA. ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

śambhūr (KS °bhur) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS. TS MS KS. ŚB.

Note *mayobhūr* even in KS.

ābhūr (VS. TS *ābhur*) *asya nīṣaṅgalih* (VS °dhīh) VS. TS MS KS

savītre tvārbhumate (etc , §549) *vibhumate* (MŚ *vibhū°*) . . . VS MS ŚB TA

phalgūr (KSA °gur) *lohitorñi* . VS TS MS KSA.

havanaśruṇ (TB *hāvanaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB Comm on TB *āhvānasya śrotā san* Irregular lengthening of *śru* in composition

§555. Neuter *u* stems in the Veda have nom -acc forms, both sing. and plur , in either *u* or *ū*

sa hi purū (SV *puru*) *cīd ojasā viruḥmatā* RV. SV. Adverbial.

[*saṃ gr̥bhāya purū* (TB *puru*, Poona ed *purū-*) *śatā* RV AV. MS KS TB]

Different forms of related stems *āyu* and *āyus*.

dadhad ratnam āyun (AV *āyūṇṣi*) AV AŚ. ŚŚ See §819
vṛṣā punāna āyusu (SV. *āyūṇṣi*) RV SV

§556. In the first member of a dual devatādvandva, the *ū* may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened stem vowel: *kratūdaḥśābhyām me varcodā varcase pavasva* VS. VSK ŚB : *daḥśakra-tubhyām* (sc me etc) TS ApŚ : *daḥśakratubhyām me varcodāh pavasva* MŚ

§557. The stem *dhur* regularly appears as *dhūr* before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134e). In the ApŚ form of the following

variant *ur* appears before the ending *bhīh*, and conversely in the KS form *ūr* before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually sound, note that in the 'correct' MŚ form both *dhur* and *dhūr* forms occur Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc, stigmatizes KS *dhūro* and *dhūran* (for. °*iam*) as corrupt, and Knauer proposes to emend KS on the basis of MŚ But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants

yathādhuram (KS ms °*dhūran*) *dhuro* (KS *dhūro*) *dhūrbhīh kalpantām*
KS MŚ . *yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhīh kalpantām* ApŚ

11 Other *u-ū*

§558. The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing In verb inflexion there is practically nothing Once TB presents an anomalous *ūh* for the regular 3d plural secondary ending *uh*, it occurs at the end of a *pūda*, and remains unexplained.

upo ha yad vidatham vājino guh (TB *gūh*) RV MS TB

§559. The various forms of the root *su*, *sū*, 'beget, enliven' etc, show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel Thus.

rasāstah pra suh (KŚ *sūh*, MŚ *suva*, ApŚ *suva pra suh*) AŚ ŚŚ KŚ
ApŚ MŚ Both *sūh* and *suva* are regular forms, and in VV I p

189 it is suggested that *suh* is a blend of the two Cf next

irdhamāsyam prasutāt pītryāvatah JB : *pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pītryāvatah*

KBU Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is *sūta*, but *suta* is recorded otherwise JB

1 18 has v. 1 *prasūtāt* (see Oertel, JAOS 19 [2], 112, 115, delete in Conc *tam ardhamāsam* .)

1st and 2d aorists of *bhū*.

abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm (ApŚ °*bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam*
(v 1 °*bhūvam*) MŚ

§560. Quite similarly *vah* (weak stem *uh*) and *ūh* are 'in some forms and meanings hardly to be separated' (Whitney, *Roots*), indeed, Whitney gives some forms (such as passive *uhyate*) as identical from the two roots Of course they are ultimately variants of each other

mā hīnsīsur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB † *ūhyamānām*) AV ApMB

Here *ūh* does not fit very well, AV means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds' (In ApMB the pple is made to agree with the bride—'as she is being carried off')

samūhyo 'sī vīsvabharāh ŚŚ . *samūhyo 'sī vīsvabharāh* ApŚ *samūhyo 'sī vīsvavedā* VSK KŚ Here, contrary to the prec, it is *sam-ūh*

that is meant, even in ŚŚ

phalgunībhyām vy ūhyate ApG *phalgunīṣu vy uhyate* AV Kauś

§561. The present participle of the 'root' *tūrv* varies with the related adjective *tura*:

tūrvan (KS *turo*) *na yāmann elāsasya nū rane* RV VS TS MS KS

§562. Several times the word *varutrī* *varūtrī*, from the dissyllabic root *vr* 'cover', varies in its two forms.

varūtrīṣ (*vā* (KS. *varutrīs* *tvā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīh* . . VS. KS ŚB KŚ :

varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr . TS : *varūtrī* (once, 2 7 6, *ṭvaru*°,

and so v. 1 in the other passage) *tvā devī viśva*° MS (bis)

traṣṭur varutrīm varunasya nābhīm MS MŚ . *varūtrīm* (VS ŚB °*trīm*,

KS † *varutrīm*) *tvastur var*° *nā*° VS TS KS ŚB

varutrīr avayan KS : *varūtrāyas ṭivārayan* ApŚ.

§563. The word *sumna* or *sū*° has been interpreted by some as a compound of *su*, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times; yet it is possible that the not infrequent *ū* in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of *su*, which as we saw (§552, cf §547) also appear with *sū*:

sumnāya (VS. *sū*°) *nūnam īmahe sakhībhyah* RV SV VS TS MS. KS.

ŚB Kauś

dhīrā deveṣu sumnayā (AV. °*yau*, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV VS VSK TS

MS KS ŚB

The word *stūpa*, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form; but two variants show that the form *stupa* was fairly widespread:

viṣno (°*noh*, °*nos*) *stupo* (TS. TB. ApŚ *stūpo*) 'sī VS. TS. MS KS ŚB

TB ApŚ MŚ : *viṣnoh stupah* MS. MŚ.

reṣmānam stupena (MS *stū*°, but p p. *stu*°!) VS MS

§564. The word *ūrva*, on which see last Neisser *ZWbch d RV.*, s v, may be ultimately connected with *uru*. At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption:

urūm gavyām pariśadam no akran AV : *ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman* RV. KS See §46

uru (AŚ once *urvy*, once *urvy*) *antarikṣam vīhi* MS KS ŚB Vait AŚ. (bis) ApŚ MŚ We might be tempted to see in *ūrvy* a phonetic lengthening before *r* + consonant (cf Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint

ūrva (TB *urva*) *iva paprathe kāmō asme* RV †3 90 19c, TB N. Comm. on TB. *urva iva, vādavāgnir iva*, connecting the word with *aurva*, a derivative of *ūrva*

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) . ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ

See §228

§565. The word *kulyā* 'stream' is written *kūlyā* certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of *kūla* 'bank':

kulyābhyah (TS *kū*^o) *srāhā* TS KSA. Here the TS comm. takes *kūl*^o as a secondary adjective from *l-ūla*; but it is probably only an equivalent of *kuiyā*, cf. next. Keith, 'to those of the pools'.

medasah (HG * *ājyasya*) *lulyā* (HG *kū*^o) *upa tāt* (AG *upainān*, SMB *abhi tāt*) *srarantu* (HG. ApMB *kṣarantu*) VS AG ŚG Kauś SMB HG ApMB: *medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhinīhsrarantu* MG. Cf also *ghṛtasya kulyā(m)* ... in Conc, and prec Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of *kūlyā* and *kū*^o.

§566. The form *pūruṣa* for *puruṣa* is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV., but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA Poona ed reads *pū*^o with v.1 *pu*^o:

ato (AV. ArS ChU. *tato*) *jyāyānś ca pūruṣah* (TA. *pu*^o) RV. AV. ArS VS. TA ChU.

§567. Twice the RV writes *ūgra* for *ugra*. According to Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 165 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the *ū* would be due to the fact that the syllable has *kampa* (*svarita* accent followed by an accented syllable; cf Wackernagel I p 293 f). One might think of understanding the particle *u* plus *ugra*, but p p *hi, ugraḥ*. Both *pādas* occur in the same hymn:

aham hy ugras (RV. *ū*^o) *tariṣas tuviṣmān* RV. MS. KS. TB.

aham hy ugro (RV. *ū*^o) *maruto vidānaḥ* RV MS. KS

§568. Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words.

ūlena parimīdho 'si HG.: *ulena pariṣīto 'si* ApMB. Followed by. *parimīdho 'sy ūlena* HG.: *pariṣīto 'sy ulena* ApMB.: *utūla parimīdho 'si*

PG. The meaning of *ula* or *ūla* is unknown. Cf. next.

ulo halikṣno (TS *ūlo hali*^o) ... VS TS. MS KSA. Cf. prec Here apparently some animal is meant

godhūmāś ca me masūrāś (TS and KapS *masu*^o) *ca me* VS. TS MS KS

Both forms are otherwise known; *masūra* seems to be commoner *hotā redīṣad atithir duronasat* (VS. *dū*^o, but comm. *du*^o) RV. VS VSK. TS MS. KS AB ŚB. TA. MahānU. KU. NṛpU VaradapU. The word *dūroṇa*, for the usual *durona* 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded.

kurkuro nīlabandhanaḥ HG: *kūrkuro bālabandhanaḥ* (ApMB *vāla*^o)

PG. ApMB The usual form is *kurkura*, perhaps cf Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before *r* + consonant). Cf. next

kurkuraḥ sukurkuraḥ HG : *kūrḥkuraḥ* (ApMB °ras) *sukūrḥkuraḥ* PG.

ApMB Cf prec

kuṣmāṇḍāḥ, °dān, °dyah, and *kuś*°, *kūṣ*°, *kūs*°. See §290

prathamāya januṣe bhūmanesṭhāḥ (AV *bhuvaṇe*°, ŚŚ *bhūma ne*°) AV. AŚ.

ŚŚ Different but related stems *bhuvana* and *bhūma(n)*

ā pūṣā etv ā rasu TS : *ā puṣṭam etv ā vasu* AV.

āpura stā ŚŚ · *āpūryā sthā* . TS AŚ

atīkulvam (VSK °*kūlvam*) *cātīlomaṣam ca* VS VSK. *kulva* 'bald', regularly with short *u*

agnaye dhūñlṣṇā (KSA °*ḷṣṇā*) TS KSA : *dhuñlṣṇāneyī* (VSK °*ḷṣvā*° or °*ḷṣyā*°) VS VSK MS. Said to mean a sort of bird; original form and precise meaning unknown

uṣo (PB *ūṣā*) *dadṛṣe* (PB *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yatīva* RV. PB. Conc suggests reading *uṣā* in PB

pūlyāny (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapantīkā* AV. ApMB The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants) Cf. §151 §569. The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems *ugra* and *ūrdhra*.

ugro (HG *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virājann* (MG °*jam*) *apa* (MG *upa*-) *sedha* (AV *vrñlṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG *śakram*) AV. ApMB HG. MG.

ugradhancā (TS MS KS. *ūrdhvaḥ*) *prathitābhv astā* RV AV. SV. VS TS MS KS

ud vanṣam iva yemire RV. SV TS KB`N *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mbh

yad annam admī (PrānāgU *agnīr*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrānāgU *virād-dham*, vv ll *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV TA PrānāgU.

brahmādhiguptah (etc) . · *brahmābhigūrtam* . ., see §742

athā jīvaḥ (KS *adhā viṣṭah*, VS ŚB. *athantam*, AV. *adomadam*) *pitum* (AV *annam*) *addhī prasūtah* (TS MS. KS *pramuktah*) AV VS. TS. MS KS ŚB

aghnyau śūnam (AŚ. *aghnyāv aśunam*) *āratām* RV. AV. śūna 'want': *aśūna* 'unprosperity'

sukhataḥ stha AŚ *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ

utem (SV. *ūtīm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV SV MS In RV etc *utā-īm*, in SV acc of *ūtī* But the Samhitās contain no actual variation in quantity of the *u* vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final *u*

sā brahmajāyā v dunoti rāṣṭram AV.: *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahma-jyasya* AV 'Burns up': 'shatters'.

trīni padāni rūpo anv aroha AV.. *pañca padāni ruṇo anv aroham* RV

Read *ruṇo* in AV, with many mss., comm, and Whitney's Transl
udno (AV text *ūdhno*) *divyasya no dehi* (AV MS *dhātah*) AV. TS MS

KS *ūdhno* is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note
 Cf §106

namo vah pīlaraḥ śuṣmāya (VS ŚŚ *śoṣāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūṣāya*)

VS. VSK TS MS. KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG See §720

CHAPTER XIII QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

1. Short *a* and *i*

§570. The variations between *a* and *i* are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels *a* and *i* respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely *a i* in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the *i* forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in *a*, which vary with them. That *ir* and *ur* may appear historically in such relations to *ar* is recognized by all (cf. Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of *i* in relation to short *a* (as distinguished from *ā*) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf. Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

§571. We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut, it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded *śikya* appears persistently for the common *śakya* (by which TA comm glosses *śikya*). One naturally thinks of comparing *śikvan* and other forms of the sort with *i* (*śikman*, *śikvas*); according to Wackernagel (I c, p 17) *śikvan* would be etymologically unrelated to root *śak*, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in *i* might perhaps be influenced by *śikṣ* *satām śikyah* (MahānU *śa*°, v 1 *śi*°) *provācapaniṣat* TA MahānU.

A form of *śikṣ* itself varies with one from *śak* in *lātum cec chikṣān sa* (TA *chaknuwānsah*, or °*vān sa*) *svarga eva* (TA *eṣām*) AV TA. See §826.

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots *śam śim*, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p 18) ultimately unrelated. In the variant *pādas* VS uses only *śam*, TS KS only *śim*.

śamibhūh samyantu tvā VS *śimibhūh* (KSA †*śimi*°) *śimyantu tvā* TS
KSA

kas te gātrāni śamyat (TS KSA śim°) VS TS KSA.

māsā āchyanu śamyantah VS : *māsās chyanu śmyantah* TS KSA

śimāh (KSA Conc *śimām*, ed with *v* l *śimāh*, VS *śimāh*) *kr̥navantu* (VS * *śamyantu*) *śmyantah* (VS *śamyantāh*) VS TS KSA Note that VS denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the noun by reading *śimāh* with *s*, not *ś* (comm interprets by *śimā rekḥāh*)

sūcibhah śamyantu (TS KSA śim°, MS *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS TS MS KSA

§573. Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), cf Wackernagel I §21, but most of the cases are obscure or dubious, only the first is a clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar, SV has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (*hari*) for the old and rarer *hri*

hriśmaśrum (SV *hari*°) *nārvūnam* (SV *na varmanā*) *ḍhanarcam* (SV °cim) RV SV

asyai nāryā upastare (ApMB °stire) AV ApMB Infinitive forms, Whitney emends to °stire with Ppp

śisirāya vikakarān (KS *ṛvikarān*, ApŚ *vikarān*, vv ll *vikakarān*, *vikikarān*) VS KS ApŚ. Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin, and meaning

sugantuh karma karanah karṣyan JB . *sugam tvah karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ With *karasyu* cf. the noun *kāras*, RV ?

rudra yat te krayi (VS KS *kr̥vi*, VSK *kr̥vi*, MS MŚ *giri*°) *param nāma* VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §47, all the forms are unintelligible

§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain verb forms (e.g. the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with presently; and ablaut of a different kind (*ay* for *e* *i*) also appears among the verbal variants (§582) Here we shall append a number of variations between words which, while actually of independent origin, simulate the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-synonyms and (but for the shift between *a* and *i*) nearly or quite homonyms

§575. First, cases in which *r* follows (cf §578) Here we find two cases in which *pratara*, that is *pra-tara*, a comparative from *pra*, varies with forms in *pra-tir-* (verbal or nominal), in which *tir* is connected with the root *tr* 'cross' The psychological affinity between this root as commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident

drāghīya āyuh pratarām (TA †*pratarāmi*, MG *pratiram*) *dadhānāh* (AV. **te dadhāmi*) RV. AV. TA AG MG. *dirgham āyuh pratirad bheṣajām* TB.: *āyur dadhānāh pratarām navīyah* AV. Here *pratirad* is a verb-form (*prakarṣena dadātu*, comm.), *pratarām* an adverb (comm. *prakarṣena*); *pratiram*, if correct, is the Rigvedic infinitive *pratiram*, but all but one of Knauer's mss read *prataram* in MŚ

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG

§576. Before other consonants than *r* (cf. §§570 ff.); here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots *sam-vas* and *samvś*, which are listed in §281. Formally even closer are two variants between *lśan* 'injure' and *lśi* 'destroy', also virtual synonyms.

indra vāriṣṭo akṣatah (AV. *akṣitah*) RV. AV.

akṣatam asy (SMB omits *asy*) *ariṣṭam* SMB ŚG : *akṣitam* (*akṣitr*) *asi* .. (see §586).

prithivī darvir akṣitāparimitānupadastā (VīDh *akṣatā*) .. Kauś VīDh .
yathāgnir akṣito ... ApMB HG

§577. Other near-synonyms:

gajñam devebhir anvitam (TS TB *inv*°) TS. MS ApŚ TB †1 4 4. 5b
'Accompanied' (*anu* + *i*)· 'impelled'

śiṣṭe śrīge rakṣase (AV *rukṣobhyo*) *vinakṣe* (KS *vinakṣe*, AV. mss. °*nikṣve*) RV. AV. TS. MS KS *nikṣ* 'pierce': *naś* (as if causative) 'destroy'. But no such form of *naś* is otherwise recorded, and the KS. form is questionable

pavamāno daśasyati (SV. *diś*°) RV. SV. Benfey would derive the SV form from stem *dśas* = *dś* (lex., and class in composition).

§578. Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false-readings or corruptions. First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases *a* and *i*) and particles (*ha*: *hi*, etc.):

ato (AV. MahānU. *ito*, TB *tato*) *dharmāni dhārayan* RV. AV. SV. VS. TB MahānU.

pūrvo ha (TA. MahānU. *hi*) *jālah* (JUB *jañe*) *sa u garbhe antah* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. JUB

rṣir ha (ŚŚ *hi*) *dirghaśruttamah* TS MS. KS TA AŚ. ŚŚ.

eṣo (TA MahānU. *eṣa*, ŚirasU. *eko*) *ha* (TA MahānU. *hi*) *devah pradīso* 'nu *sarvāh* VS TA MahānU ŚvetU ŚirasU.

viśvam hi (KS *ha*) *ripram pravahanti* (MS °*tu*) *devih* RV. AV VS MS. KS. ŚB.

agnih sudakṣaḥ satanur ha bhūtvā MŚ *agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* .(KS †
°nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS

śreṣṭho ha (Sāyana, AV Introd p 5, *hi*) *vedas tapaso 'dhyātah* GB
amutibhūyād adha (AV *adhī*) *yad yamasya* AV. VS TS MS KS TAA
anūdā yadī jījanad (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV *adhā cid ā*)

RV. SV Two cases in the same pāda.

vācā cit prayatam (AŚ *ca prayuti*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ
duraś ca vīsvā avṛnod apa svāh RV *turaś cid vīsvam arnavat tapasvān*
AV

tāv ehi (AV *iha*, AB. *eha*, MG *tā eva*) AV AB AG ŚG PG MG
Others, §888 *ehi* contains the verb *ihi*, *eha* is probably corrupt
(Weber, *ISi* 10 160), and *eva* is certainly secondary

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ
asūrte (TS MS KS °iā) *sūrte* (TS °tā) *rajasī* (TS °so) *niṣatte* (MS
°iā, KS *na satīā*, TS *vimāne*) RV VS TS MS KS N

mā no agne 'va (MG *vi*) *srjo aghāya* RV AG MG

sūrya apo vi (MG 'va) *gāhate* MS ApŚ MG

Miscellaneous pronominal forms

āre asman (MS NilarU *asmīn*) *nī dhehi tam* VS TS MS KS NilarU
asmat 'from us'. *asmīn* 'in it' or 'in him' MS has v 1 *asman*,
and its p p *asmat*

prajāyati kam (AV *kim*) *amṛtam nāvṛnīla* RV AV Both forms are used
as particles here

yad iā me api (LŚ 'pi, Vait *apa*) *gachati* AŚ Vait LŚ

yo gā udājad apa (MS *api*) *hi valam* (MS *balam*) *vah* RV MS

ahir jaghāna (PG *dadarśa*) *kam* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* AG PG ApMB

HG MG Here true pronoun forms, 'no one' - 'nothing'

māmīṣām kam canoc chiṣah RV SV VS *maīṣām kam canoc chiṣah* TS

TB ApŚ *maīṣām uc cheṣi kim cana* AV As in prec

§579. Remoter lexical variants

mā no vidad (KS *vadhīd*) *abhībhā mo āśatīh* AV KS TB ApŚ These

forms are still quasi-synonyms, 'find' (in a hostile sense) 'injure'

dyutāno vāyibhar yatah (SV *hitah*) RV -SV 'Guided' 'placed'

jāmim itvā (Poona ed *jāmi mitvā*) *mā vīvīsi lokān* (Poona ed *lokāt*)

TA *jāmim itvā māva patsi lokāt* AV See §198

śukrām vayanly asuraya nūnījam RV *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nūnīje*
SV.

vātaṣavair (HG. *vātāṣavair*) . , see §268

anarśarātīm (SV *alarśarātīm*) *tasudām upa stuhī* RV SV AV N See

§292

hṛtsu kratum varuno (°nam) *vikṣv* (*apsv*, *dikṣv*) *agnim*, see §360.

mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS. °nā) *cikṭnū* (MS. *cikṭtam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikṭvam*) TS. MS KS. AŚ See §45.

tisro yahvasya (MS MŚ. *jihvasya*) *samidhah parjmanah* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192.

mśvakarman bhauvana mām dīdāsitha (ŚB *manda āsitha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

abhi dyumnān (RV VS. *sumnān*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahktam yaviṣṭhya*) RV VS. TS MS KS ApMB

rāyah syāma rathyo vayasvatah (TB. *vvayasvatah*) RV. MS TB. See §255.

yaśo (AŚ *diśo*) *yajñāsya dakṣinām* (AŚ. °nāh) TB AŚ.

agnih pareṣu (AŚ *pratneṣu*, SV VS. ŚB. *prīyeṣu*) *dhāmasu* AV. SV. VS. ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ.

hinvāno hetrbhur yatah (SV. *hīlah*) RV. SV

alvandāya svāhā KSA : *iluvardāya svāhā* TB ApŚ. Followed by *bahvardāya* (KSA. °vandāya), which suggests that KSA has an assimilated form.

śam padam magham trayiṣine na kāmam (AA. *rayiṣani na somah*) SV. AA See §545.

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB HG. ApMB.

mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV. Metathesis of *a* and *i*

§580. The following seem to be false readings:

ahim (RVKh *āham*) *dandenāgatam* RVKh AV Both words make good sense; but Scheftelowitz (p. 62) reads *ahim* for RVKh with his ms. *tādūnā* (TB. Poona ed *tādāknā*) *śatrum* (TB *śatrūn*) *na kilā vivīse* (TB *vivalse*) RV. TB But Poona ed *vivīse*, comm gloss *na labhase*

gāvo bhago gāva vndro me achān (AV. *ma ichāi*; TB with two AV. mss *īachāi*) RV AV KS TB *achān* is the only intelligible reading and is adopted by Whitney, see VV I p 130

[*añṣisakthāya* (KSA °śak°, Conc °śik°) *svāhā* TS KSA]

[*namaḥ śaspiṇṇjārāya* (TS *sasp°*; Conc wrongly *śiṣp°* for MS) *tnṣimate* VS TS MS KS]

[*mā no vadhih* (Conc *vadhīh* for TS, wrongly) *pīṭaram* RV. VS TS TAA MŚ]

§581. In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants. Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously *a* or *i*, included are some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems:

piā bhūnavah sīsrāte (SV. *sa°*) *nākam aha* RV. AV SV VS. TS MS

On this and the two next see VV I §272

vṛṣāva cakradad (and *°do*) *vane* RV · *vṛṣo acakradad vane* SV See prec
tāh prācyā (Vait. *°yah*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *uyyigāhure* (KŚ. *°ire*, Vait *saṃji-*
gātre) KŚ. Vait MŚ . *prācīś cojjagāhure* ApŚ See prec two
stolāram id didhiṣya (SV *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV AV SV. See VV I
 p 90

haslagrābhasya didhiṣos (AV *da°*) *tavedam* (TA *tvam elat*) RV AV TA
 Manymss of AV *dī°*, which Whitney would read. Cf however next
vahā (TB N *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS *da°*) *havīṃṣi* MS KS TB N
 Cf prec The MS reading is not certain, several mss *dī°*.

§582. In present formations of different classes:

suvirābhīs tīrate (SV TS *taratī*) .. RV. SV TS KS Note the
 following *r* (§573).

anāgaso adham it saṃkṣayema TB *anāgaso yathā sadam it saṃkṣiyema*
 Vait 1st and 4th class presents; VV I p 125 In the latter *y* is
 epenthetic

yac ca prānīti (AV *°atī*) *yac ca na* AV ŚB † TB BṛhU † 1st and 2d class
 presents, VV I p 123

yah prānīti (AV *prānātī*) *ya im śrnoty uktam* RV AV Cf prec
katī kṛtvah prānātī cāpūnātī ca (ŚB *prānīti cāpa cānūtī*) GB ŚB Cf
 prec two

nī śānīhi (AV *abhi śāna*) *duritā bādhamānah* RV AV VS TS MS
 KS Cf prec three

§583. The *i* of the following is of desiderative character, cf Whitney
 §1030.

na yac chūdreṣu alapsata (ŚŚ *alī°*) AB. ŚŚ An aorist in AB. See VV I
 p 87

sa bhikṣamāno (SV. *bha°*) *amṛtasya cārunah* RV. SV. Both *bhikṣ* (a
 sort of desiderative) and *bhakṣ* are derived from *bhaj*, but function
 as quasi-independent roots

§584. In various miscellaneous verb forms,

ajīgapata (TS TB *°japata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS TB MŚ See VV I
 p 192 Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists, the form with
 radical *a* is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by
 that of the simple root

grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ ApŚ
 ŚG. HG See VV I p 133

nābhā samdāyī navyasī (SV *°dāya navyase*) RV SV. *samdāyī* is 3d sing
 passive aor, *samdāya* gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb)

yenā samatsu sāsahāh (SV. °hīh, MŚ °hī) RV SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ
 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV (perfect subj) : 'where-
 by (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV. (adjective). In MŚ
 the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with *manas* '(thy) mind' in
 prec

sam indra no (no) manasā neṣi (AV neṣa) *gobhūh* RV. AV. VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB See VV I p 105

pītā no bodhi (TA *bodha*) VS ŚB TA See VV I p 123.

a ɪ in noun formation

§585. The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes. Phonetics has little to do with them; at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing *a* and ɪ may exchange. Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous. Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in *ta* with nouns of action or abstracts in *ti*, the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages. Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in *ti*; or the nouns in *ti* may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles. Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in *na ni* (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and *ra ri*, patronymics in *ka ki*, heteroclitlic stems in *a(an)* ɪ, stems in *ana in(a)*, stems in *in* (in composition ɪ) *a(n)*, stems in *a-ka ikā*; and a remnant of unclassifiable *a* ɪ forms.

§586. We begin with the suffixes *ta ti*, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning, see also §599 below:
yam akṣitam (ŚŚ N °tim) *akṣitayah pibanti* TS ŚŚ N : *yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti* AV *yathākṣitam akṣitayah pibanti* (KS °yo madanti) MS KS 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV imperishable ones) drink (or the like)'

akṣitam asi mā pūrnām (with variants) *kṣeṣṭhā* . ApG ApMB HG.
 BDh *akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāh* TS : *akṣitam asy akṣitam me bhūyāh* MS . *akṣitur asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā* . . VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ And other variations

apā vrdhi parvrtam (TB Conc °vrtim, Poona ed. text and comm °vrtim) *na rādhaḥ* RV. TB 'Open up as it were hidden treasure': 'open up treasure, as it were a fence'

bradhnaś cid atra (SV *yasya*) *vāto na jūtaḥ* (SV. *jūtm*) RV. SV. *jūtaḥ* 'speedy', adj with *vāto*, *jūtm* 'speed', with change of construction.

pra samrājo (SV °jam) *asurasya praśastim* (SV. °tam) RV SV KB
atirātram varṣan pūrtr āvṛt (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rūvaṣ*, KS *vavṛṣvān*
pūta rūvat) *svāhā* TS MS KS.

§587. These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in *ti*
puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe MS *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ °pale) *puṣṭis* AŚ. ApŚ
pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣṭṛtam RV SV PB. ° *pra vā elīndur indrasya*
niṣṭṛtim AV

nyañ (AV *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣṭṛtam* (AV. °tim) RV. AV KS.
ākūtim (MS MŚ MG °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS
 ŚB MŚ MG

vāco vidhṛtim (MS °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 In same passage with prec

sviṣṭam (MŚ v l °tim) *no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS MŚ *sviṣṭim no abhi*
 (KS 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS KŚ

kṛnūtam nah sviṣṭim (MS KS °tam) VS TS MS KS

mayi puṣṭim (AV °tam) *†puṣṭipatir* (AV *puṣṭa*°, KS **puṣṭipatnī*)
dadhātu (AG †*dadātu*) AV MS KS. (four times) TAA MahānU
 ApŚ AG SMB.

kuyavam ca me 'kṣitī (VS 'kṣitam) *ca me* VS MS KS : *akṣitī ca me*
kūyavāś ca me TS

[*ādityās te citim* (KS Conc wrongly *citam*) *āpūrayantu* KS ApŚ]

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °nīth, KS *°*dhītam*,
 v l °*dhītim*, KS * [38 12b] †°*nītha*, KapS °*dhītam* or °*tim*, MS
 °*dhīte*) *yajñāh* (AV MS KS * *agne*) AV VS TS MS. KS ŚB
 °*nītha* is a variant for °*nīla*, see §93.

§588. Coming to variants between *na* and *nī*, we find in several cases that the *i* is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending *ī*

asapalnā sapatnaghnī (ApMB °*nighnī*) RV ApMB ApG Cf *sapatnī*,
 for which *sapatnī* is recorded in the Rāmāyana (BR)

gandharvāya janavde (ApMB *janī*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG Cf the stems
janī and *janī* Here, strictly speaking, the *i* and the *n* are both
 radical, not suffixal (dissyllabic root *jan*)

somāya januvde (MG *jana*°) *svāhā* ApMB MG In same passage as prec
teṣām yo ayyānam (PG 'jyānum) *ajūm āvahāt* (SMB Conc *ajūm*
āvahāh, but Jorgensen text and comm as others) TS SMB PG
 BDh *teṣām ayyānam* (MŚ °*nam*) *yatamo vahāt* (KS MŚ *na*
āvahāt) AV KS MŚ *a-jyā-nī*, 'non-oppression' *a-jyā-na* id, not
 recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix *ana*, which appears
 as *na* after *ā* .

hiranyapakṣah śakunih HG.: *hiranyaparna śakune* PG : *hiranyavarnah śakunah* MU

pururūpam suretasani maghonam (TB °*nm*) VS TB *maghonam* may be taken either as an irregular acc sing of *maghavan* (cf. RV *maghonas*, nom plur) or as from an *a*-extension of the weak stem, *maghonam* (masc) can only be from an *i*-extension of the same TB comm *annavanam*; VS comm *maghavanam dhanavanam*

§589. Of the suffixes *ra ri* we have only noted one variant, of the word *tittiri* °*ra* The usual form is °*ri*, but °*ra* occurs elsewhere; however in this passage the MS p p reads *tittirih*.

mandūko mūṣikā tittiris (MS °*ras*) *te sarpanām* VS. MS Cf. §598, *varṣābhyas*.

§590. The suffixes *ka* and *li* exchange in patronymics; really the exchange is doubtless between *a* and *i*, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained *k*; all occur in the same passage.

śaunakam (ŚG °*kim*) AG ŚG.

kaholam kauṣitakam (ŚG °*kim*) AG ŚG

mahākauṣitakam (ŚG °*kim*) AG †ŚG

§591. Next, *a* and *i* as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitc stems in *an* (weak grade *a*, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the *a*-declension) and *i*, of the type *asthan asthi*.

asthabhyah (KSA *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS TS KSA.

ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita pīṅgala lohitaḥ (MahānU *puruṣāharitapīṅgala lohitaḥ*) *dehi dehi dadāpayitā me śudhyantām* TA TAA MahānU

And extensions of such stems in suffixal *ka* (in compounds).

anakṣikāya (KSA °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA.

anasthikāya (KSA °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA

§592. A few cases of interchange between adjectives in *i* and participles (or quasi-participles, *mahat*) in *at*

dhruvas tiṣṭhāncācalh (AV MS KS °*calat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

SB TB

parvata wāncācalh (AV MS KS °*calat*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

SB TB

dadhr (SV *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayānsi* RV SV.

enoś cakrīvān mahi baddha eṣām TS : *eno mahac cakrīvān baddha ṣeṣa* MS

§593. Variations between suffixal *ana* and *in* (°*ina*)

tan nau samvananam kṛtam MG : *tena samvanīnau svake* HG *samvanana* 'concord': *samvanin* 'concordant'.

manyoh krodhasya nāśanī PG : *manyor mṛddhasya* (ApMB *mṛdhrasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB HG *Feminines of nāśana nāśin*

mā no vīdad (KS *vīdhad*) *vījīnā* (KS TB ApŚ. °*anā*) *dveṣyā* *īyā* AV
KS TB. ApŚ Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise unknown

śunām agram suvīranah (ApMB *subīranah*) ApMB. HG Cf next
subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka ApMB · *suvīranah sṛja-sṛja* HG Epithets of dogs, of unknown origin and meaning

§594. Variations between stems in *in* (in composition *i*) and stems in *a* or *an* (once *an* by sandhi for *at*)

tasya te *īvājipīlasyopahūlasyopahūlo* (Vait *vājipīlasyopahūlo*, LŚ *vājipīlasyopahūla* [text °*hata*] *upahūlasya*) *bhakṣayāmi* AŚ LŚ
Vait · *tasya te vājibhr bhakṣamkṛlasya vājibhr sūlasya vājipīlasya vājīnasyopahūlasyopahūlo bhakṣayāmi* ApŚ · *vājy aham vājīnasyopahūla upahūlasya bhakṣayāmi* VSK KŚ

vājam tvāgne Vait : *vājī tvā* . ApŚ MŚ *vājīnam tvā vājīn*
KS : *vājīnom tvā vājedhyāyāi* (*sapatnasāham*) VS VSK TS
ŚB

ava jyām (HG *dyām*) *wa dhanvanah* (HG *dhanvnanah*) AV ApMB HG
See §159.

matsvā suśīpra (SV. °*prin*) *harīvas tad* (SV. *tam*) *īmahe* RV. SV.

bodhinmanā (SV. *bodhan*°) *id astu nah* R.V. SV. In SV. pres pple, *bodhat*

§595. Before feminine forms of the suffix *ka*, most commonly *i* replaces *a*, see Edgerton, JAOS 31 95 f :

vidyutam kanīnakābhyām (VS *kanīna*°) VS MS. KSA. *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS

vṛtrasyāsi (KS *mitrasy*°) *kanīnikā* (VS ŚB °*akah*) VS MS KS ŚB.

MŚ MG : *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °*akāsi*) VSK TS ApŚ
agner akṣnah kanīnakam (VSK °*kām*, TS MS KS °*ikām*) VS VSK TS.
MS. KS. ŚB.

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS. ŚB · *ni jalgalīti* (KSA ms *ījalgalīti*, em °*īvi*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA

vājīhvaka nījīhvaka ApMB · *avājīhva nījīhvika* HG Here, in a masculine form, the *i* before *ka* is anomalous, it may be corrupt, or may be based on thought of a form **jīhvīn*, with suffixal *in*

§596. The rest are miscellaneous cases of *a* · *i* in suffixes and endings
tasmīn ma indro rucīm ā dadhātu AV.: *tasmīn somo rucām ā dadhātu*
HG. ApMB Stems *ruci* and *ruc* Cf next

hīrīśmaśrum nārvaṇam dhanarcam RV *hīrīśmaśrum na varmanā dhanarcīm* SV. Stems *rc* and *rc-i* (possibly with confused thought of *arcs*?).

- kuwayah* (KSA °yih, VS TS *kvayih*) *kuṭarur dālyauhas te vājīnām* (TS. KSA *smīvālyai*) VS TS MS KSA. A name of an unknown animal, p p of MS also *kuwayih*
- indrāh* (ŚŚ °as) *patis tuṁṣṭamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV AA ŚŚ Stems *tavas* and *tuṁṣ-* (the latter not used as a separate word)
- tilvīlāstām* (ed misprinted *tilva*°, see Stenzler's Transl. p 83 n) *urāvatīm* AG : *tilvīlā sthājīrāvātī* ŚG · *tilvalā sthīrāvātī* MG † 2 11 12b *tilvīlā syād urāvātī* ApMB The word is otherwise *tilvula*, probably MG is to be emended
- vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV. MS † *sūrih*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāh*, KS †*sūrah*) RV AV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB ŚvetU.
- agne varcasvīn* (VSK °van) *varcasvāns* (ŚŚ °vī) *tvam deveṣv asī varcasvān* (ŚŚ °vy) *āham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ
- pradākṣīnīn* (AV. °nam) *marutām stomam ṛdhyām* (MS *āsyām*) RV. AV. MS TB The old adverb *pradākṣīnī*, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV.
- mānasya patnī śaranā syonā* AV · *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā* HG *harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB °atā) *marutvah* RV TB N. See §122 and VV I §86
- kṛkalāsah* (KSA *kṛki*°) *pīppakā śakunīs* (TS KSA *śak*° *pi*°) *te śaravyā-yai* VS. TS MS KSA. Of uncertain origin; simulates a compound of a stem *kṛka-* or *kṛki-*.

2 Long ā and ī

§597. These variants are few The most interesting group concerns ā varying with ī as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings ī and ā in this connexion These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples.

- samhitāsi viśvarūpā* (VS ŚB ŚŚ °pī, TS ApŚ *°pīh) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ (his)
- upasthāvarābhyo dāsam* VS *upasthāvarābhyo †barīdam* (so Poona ed. text and comm) TB
- sulhā saptapadī* (ApMB °padā) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś SMB ApMB MG

śivā rulasya (TS. and v. l. of MS. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva rlasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not):

grḍhrah śitkakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ (KSA. *vārhi°*, ed. em. *vārdhrī°*, *te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. The word (otherwise spelled with *ṛ*) seems at least to be felt as a compound; cf. *vārdhra*?

uṣīro ghrṇvān vārdhrīnasas (MS. *ghrṇvān vārdhrā°*) *te matyai* VS. MS. Cf. prec.; p.p. of MS. *vārdhrī°*. In *ghṛ°* we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here

ākhuḥ kaśo mānīhālas (MS. °hālavas, VSK. *māndhālas*) *te pīṭṇām* VS. VSK. MS : *pānīktrah* (KSA. *ṭpānīktrah*; mss. of both *pānītra-*) *kaśo mānīhālavas* (KSA. *ṭman°*) *te pīṭṇām* (KSA. *ṭpīṭṇ°*) TS. KSA. See §77.

yā te agne harīśayā (VSK. *harī°*, MS. MS. *harā°*) *tanūr*... VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratīkas MS. MS.) *harāśaya* is doubtless influenced by *haras*

vidyutam kānīnīkābhyām (VS. *kanīna°*) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here.

§598. The other variations of *ā* and *ī* are very miscellaneous; mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort

agne tejasvin tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāḥ TS : *agna āyuhkārāyusmāns tvam tejasvān deveṣu edhi* MS. See also *agne varcasvin* etc., §596. *indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāvī* (KS. °yāvān, MS. °yavān) ... TS. KS.

MS

śivā viśtvāha (VS. °hā) *bheṣajī* (TS. °habheṣajī; MS. °jā) VS. TS. MS. KS. *viśtvacarāṇiḥ sahurīḥ sahāvān* (AV. *sahiyān*) RV. AV. MS *śilpā vaiśvadevīḥ* (VS. °vyah) VS. MS : *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ* TS. KSA.

Fem and masc forms, nom plur.

samānī va ākūtīḥ RV. AV. TB. AG : *samānā vā* (KS. *va*) *ākūtāni* MS.

KS. MG. *ī* of fem. sing : *ā* of neut. plur.

varṣābhyas tuttīrīn (MS. °rān) VS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ. Acc plur of the words which vary in §589

dhyā manotā prathamō manīṣī (SV. °mā manīṣā) RV. SV. 'The foremost; intelligent one': ... intelligence'.

sā śamtāti (SV. °tā, TB. ApŚ. °cī) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *śamtāti* acc neut, and *śamtātā* loc sing, from *śamtāti*; on *śamtācī* see §156

aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni (VS and v. l. of MS *'sthāni*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.
Stems *asthan' asth.*

teṣām sam hanmo akṣāni (AV *sam dadhmo akṣīni*) RV. AV. (Ppp has *akṣāni*) Stems *akṣan' akṣ.*

bahu ha vā ayam avarṣād ... MS : *bahu hāyam avṛṣād* (KS. °ṣad) ..
TS. KS. See VV I p. 129

tisro ha prajā alyāyam āyan (JB *īyuh*) AV. JB. Imperfect and perfect of *i*

In VV I p. 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in (n)ā. (n)ī, which we shall not repeat here Add the following:

śṛnāhi viśvataḥ prati RV.: †*śṛnāhi viśvatas pari* SV.

§598a. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in *tvā* and *tvī* As was to be expected, the form in *tvī* is regularly the older: *avād dhavyāni surabhīni kṛtvā* (RV. VS *kṛtvī*) RV. AV. VS TS. ApŚ. SMB.

kṛtyaṣā padvatī bhūtvā (RV. °*tvī*) RV. AV. ApMB.

kṛtvī (AV. *kṛtvā*) *devair nikūḍḍham* RV. AV.

kṛtvī (AV. *kṛtvā*) *savarnām adadur* (AV *adadhur*) *vivasate* RV. AV. N. *pūtvī* (SV. TS *pūtvā*) *śipre avepayah* RV. SV AV. VS TS. ŚB.

vayo ye bhūtvī (AV. °*tvā*) *patayanti naktabhiḥ* RV. AV.

svinnah snātvī (AV. °*tvā*, VS. ŚB *snāto*) *malād va* AV. VS. MS. KS
ŚB. TB

hūtvī (SV. *hūtvā*) *śiro jīhvaya vāvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.

apālām indra (MG. °*ras*) *triṣ* (trih) *pūtvī* (AV *pūtvā*, ApMB. *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrti a-*) RV AV. JB ApMB MG

3. *a* and *i* with shift of quantity

§599. Here are found only a few stray variants: too few to classify. Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality, these will not be repeated We begin with variants of *ā* and *i*, the first two belong with those of *a* and *i* in §586:

prācīm jīvātum akṣītām (ŚŚ. ŚG °*im*) AV. TS. MS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG. AG † (Stenzler's Translation, p 36 n) ApMB. N

vyacasvatīṣayanī subhūtiḥ AŚ MS : *viśvavyacā ṣayanī subhūtiḥ* (KS °*ti*) TS KS. In the latter *subhūti* is an adjective going with *adur* in the next pāda

tan no durgā (TA °*gā*) *pracodayāt* TA MahānU. Durgi for Durgā seems to occur only here

śṛyo (AV. TB. °*yam*) *vasānaś carati svarociḥ* (TB °*cāh*) RV. AV. VS. KS. TB.

āṅgūṣānām (SV *aṅgoṣnam*) *avāvaśanta vānīh* RV SV. Different case-forms of *a* and *in* stems

adhī kṣamā vṣurūpam (ArS *kṣamā vṣva*°) *yad asti* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āsta*) RV AV ArS MS TB

kara ād (SV *id*) *arthayāsa it* RV. SV.

anādhṛṣṭā .. VS MS KS ŚB *anībhrṣṭā* . . TS See §176

§600. Between *a* and *i* the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic. *sīrāh* (TS MS KS *sarāh*, AV *sarā*) *patatrinī* (TS MS KS °*nīh*) *sthana* (KS *stha*, AV. *bhūtva*) RV AV VS TS MS KS Besides the synonymous *sarā* and *sīrā*, *sirā* is also found (RV) All are from root *sr*, cf §§570, 573

amṛtenāvṛtām puram (TA *purīm*) AV. TA Equivalent stems *pur* and (later) *purī*

yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakikārim (TB *kaṇṭakakāram*) VS TB Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd, show shift in gender *nayanto garbham vanām dhīyam dhuḥ* RV : *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhīyam dhāh* SV Lexical

āsmīnn (KS *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS KS ApŚ Lexical

virenyah kratur indrah suśastih RV. *varenyakratūr* (AV °*tur*, ApŚ *īdenya*°) *aham* RVKh AV. ApŚ See §§383, 554

4 Interchange of short *a* and *u*

§601. Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the *a i* variants, in which *a* varies with *u* before a following *v*, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the *av* forms as full ablaut grade, the *uv* as weak grade forms, representing *ū* before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short *u*—epenthesis of *v* between *u* and following vowel Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded The great majority of the forms concern roots in *ū* There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the *u* forms in SV, and the like seems to be largely true of MS

§602. In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation The following are those from *ū* roots.

acīradat svapā iha bhuvat (Ppp *bhavat*, Barret, JAOS 30 244) AV.

Ppp Add to VV I l c

tasmat devā adhī bravan (MS. KS TB † [Poona ed. text and comm]

ApŚ. *bruvan*) VS. TS MS KS TB. ApŚ

tasmat somo adhī bravat (KS *bruvat*) RV AV KS

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā itī bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV. SV

pra bravāma (MS *bruvāma*, v 1 *bra°*) *śaradah śatam* VS. MS. TA ApMB.

ApG HG. MG.

sammiślo aruṣo bhava (SV. *bhuvah*) RV. SV.

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV. VS TS MS KS

Kauś

nemiś cakram nābhavat (SV MS °*bhuvat*) RV SV. TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV. *ābhuvah*) RV SV.

yad dūre sann ihābhavah (SV. °*bhuvah*) RV. SV MŚ N.

latra pūṣābhavat (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV. KS

asapatnā kilābhuvam (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB : *asapatnah kilābhuvam* RV.

samprīyah (TA °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB TA ApŚ. *bhuvat*)

MS TB TA. ApŚ

marutvantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV. †*huvemahi*) RV. †1 101 1-7, SV.

[*śāveśo anamīvo bhavā* (Conc wrongly *bhuvā* for ApMB) *nah* RV TS.

MS SMB PG. ApMB]

§603. From roots in short *u* the cases are much fewer:

abhī pra nonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) *gīrah* RV. SV. (It is not quite clear whether this is originally a short or long *u* root) Here SV. goes counter to its usual tendency, with *av* for RV. *uv*.

upa śravat (MS *śruvat*, p p. *śra°*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. On the anomalous and doubtful MS form cf. VV I p. 106

tad aham nūnave (ŚŚ °*nuve*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ To be added to VV I §193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents; the latter (*hnute*) is more regular.

nedīya it sṛnyah pakvam ā yavan (Ppp *yuvan*, Barret, JAOS 30 207)

AV Ppp (Others, see Conc) Add to VV I l c

§604. The same shift is found in noun formation and declension, both *ū* stems (placed first in the list) and short *u* stems-

abhibhuve (MS °*bhve*, KS °*bhave*) *svāhā* MS VS KS TB ApŚ And, in same passage:

vībhve (MS. *vībhve*, KS †*vībhve*) *svāhā*, same texts

samudram na suhavam (*suhavam*, *subhuvas*) , *mahīṣam nah subhvam*

(*subhavaṣ*) . . . , see §119

indrāh (ŚŚ. °*as*) *patis tvnṣtamo* (AA ŚŚ *tavastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*)

AV AA ŚŚ Cf. §596

śubhhravo (MS. °*bhruvo*) *vasānām* VS. MS

punsavanam *punsavanam* AG. *punsuvanam* as. ApMB The form in *av* is regular in the earlier language, but that in *uv* occurs first (in AV.)

tad viprāso vipanyavah (SV. °*yuvah*) RV. SV VS. NṛpU VasuU SkandaU ArunU MuktiU.

tā vām gīrbhir vipanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV

sumnāyuvah (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS *sumnyam*) *dhātta* MS KS. MŚ

lasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvāh (MS *bhīravo nāma*) TS MS

§605. Of other variations in radical syllables between *a* and *u*, analogous to the variations between *a* and *i* treated in §§570 ff, we have noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before *r* (cf §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem *karo kuru*. The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in *par-* *pur-*, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work.

sukarīrā svopaśā (v 1 *svau*°) MS. *sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB

The usual form is *kurīra*, the etymology is unknown. If MS is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding *u* (*su*)

avabhṛtha nūcumpuna (TS TB ApŚ *nūcāṅkuna*, MS KS MŚ *nūcūṅkuna*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB LŚ MŚ ApŚ N. See §150

Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the *a* form, despite the obscurity of the words.

nīcerur asī nūcumpunah (TS TB *nūcāṅkuna*, MS KS *nūcūṅkunah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB. LŚ Cf prec

samlasuko vikasukah AV. MS. *samkusuko vikusukah* TA ApŚ The root is *las* and the *kus* forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal *u* which follows. Cf next

asmin vāyam samlasuke (ApŚ °*kusuhe*) AV ApŚ Cf prec

nī nūartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by *b*, a labial consonant.

elām samkrṣya (MS MŚ °*kaṣya*, v 1 °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ MŚ

Here the original form was neither *d* nor *u*, but *r*, see §631

tuce tanāya (SV Svidh *tunāya*) *tai su nah* RV SV Svidh The SV form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous *tuce*

Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the *a u* is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal, assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in *u*, of the type *laro-*, *karu-* (VV I p 116 f, and references there quoted). Most of the other words are obscure; often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel:

karanam (TS *karunam*) *asī* TS AŚ ŚŚ Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work'; but *karanam* is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original *karunam* in this variant. *varano vārayālar* (and, *vārayiṣyatī*) AV. *varuno vārayāt* TA The root *vr*, like *lr*, has dissyllabic forms in *u*. It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether *Varuna* is derived from it; the god's name (if the reading is correct, Poona ed. has *varano* with *v l varuno*) is here used obviously with punning intent.

So with the verb-forms *vanate vanute* and the like, on which see VV I p 121; whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l c), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative *u*.

agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute*, SV. TS KS *vansate*) *rajim* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS MS KS

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ

§607. The rest are more dubious in character:

pilvo (VS MS *pīdvo*, KSA *bīdvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS *kakuṭhas*, TS KSA *kaṣas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA *°yāh*) VS TS MS KSA There may be assimilation in VS or dissimilation in MS, but the forms are wholly obscure

tad vo astu sucetanam (JB *°tunam*, ŚŚ *saḥṣanam*) AV. AB GB JB ŚŚ Here both *a* and *u* may perhaps be called suffixal; yet the *var* it seems to belong in feeling to this group. No uncompounded *cetuna* is found, but *sucetuna* is recorded later, and cf. RV *cetū*

somasya rājñāḥ kulūṅgaḥ TS *°somaḥ kulūṅgaḥ* (MS *kulaṅgaḥ*) VS MS : *somāya rājñe kulūṅgaḥ* KSA The usual form is *kuraṅga*, and the medial *u* is apparently due to assimilation to *u* of the first syllable. In both this and the next variant MS p p has *kulu°*; contrariwise VS comm. reads in both *kula°*, glossing *kuraṅga*.

sādhēbhyah kulūṅgān (MS *kulaṅgān*) VS MS Cf. prec.

yādase śābalyām (TB *śābulyām*) VS TB . *parā dehi śāmulyam* (ApMB *śābalyam*) RV AV. ApMB Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words, *śāmulya* means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with *śabala* 'spotted'. A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS TB, whose comms. interpret 'a woman with spotted skin', the *u* of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of *śāmulya*, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant *b*. ApMB is clearly thinking of *śabala*, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment', in RV AV ApMB reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night. Cf §241

§608. Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation. First a group in which the common synonyms *caḥṣas* and *caḥṣus* interchange. Note the misreading *caḥṣaṣi śāmavedasya* in GB Bibl Ind ed, which is a mere misprint for *caḥṣuṣi* as shown by the following §, Gastra reads correctly *caḥṣuṣi*. *Caḥṣas* is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by *caḥṣus*.

namah samudrasya caḥṣase (PB *caḥṣuṣe*) TS MS KS JB PB LŚ
apo mahi vyayahi caḥṣase tamah RV. *apo mahi vṛnule caḥṣuṣā tamah* SV
āyus ca prāyus ca caḥṣas ca vicaḥṣas (ApŚ *caḥṣus ca vicaḥṣus*) ca
 MS ApŚ

§609. Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation

tarakṣuh (KSA †^o*kṣah*) *kṛṣṇah* TS KSA Both forms otherwise recorded; original unknown

sādhu (SV *sādhah*) *kṛvantam avase* RV SV As the accent of *sā'dhu* shows (see Wackernagel II 1 p 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb. It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV by the equally unknown *sā'dhas*.

tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā RV ApMB *sā mandasānā manasā śivena* AV Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically, but resembles the case of *caḥṣas caḥṣus*, §608, superficially

davyā minānā manasā (VS *manuṣah*) *purutrā* VS MS KS TB
sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB : *sugam tvaḥ karmah karanah*
laraḥ karasyuh LŚ Cf. §573

ārdrāḥ prathasnur (MŚ †*pr̥thusnur*, v 1 *prathasnur*) *bhūwanasya gopāḥ*
 TB ApŚ MŚ Knauer, note on MŚ, would understand *prathasnu*
 (TB comm. *prathanasilo*) as dialectic by-form of *pr̥thusnu*

samsṛṣṭam ubhayam kṛtam (KŚ. *abhayam kratum*) KS TB KŚ ApŚ
Note metathesis of *a: u* in KŚ, which is poor and secondary; and
cf next

puñjikasthalā (KS † *puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau*
VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, compounded of *kṛta* *kratu*,
cf prec Really lexical, since the words are radically not related.
dhanasṛtam (MS. *dhanu°*, but p p *dhana°*) *śūśuvānsam sudakṣam* RV
MS *dhanu°* could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of
'wealth-winning', it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by
assimilation to the *u* vowels of the following

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a
shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem *savitār-*
ghṛtaviṣi savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhyapatye* (TS. °*tyaḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ

'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'

§611. In verb inflexion, morphological change between *a* and *u* vowels
is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect
indicative) endings, (n)*tu* (n)*ta*. The instances are gathered in VV I,
mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics
are hardly concerned We add a few other stray cases:

adārasṛd bhavata (AV. °*tu*) *deva soma* AV. TB ApŚ. *bhavata* seems
uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see
VV I p 283

ā pīṭaram vaiśvānaram avase kah (PB *kuh'* comm *akah*, glossed *kuru*)
PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ *kuh* is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a
gross corruption for *kah* ('*kah*'), VV I p 283

§612. The remaining cases of *a: u* are purely lexical A large group
concerns the prefix *sa* and the particle *su*, which are practically synonyms
as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other,
also the pronoun *sa*, and other exchanges of the syllables *sa: su*, of
various character, are included here:

ye saṣṭāḥ samanasaḥ (Kauś *su°*) TB ApŚ Kauś : *ye samānāḥ samana-*
saḥ VS MS KS ŚB. TB ApŚ MŚ

śatam jivema śaradaḥ sarvavīrāḥ (TB. *savīrāḥ*, ApŚ *suwīrāḥ*) AV. TB
ApŚ

ā tvā vahantu harayah sucetasah (ApMB *sa°*) MS ApMB HG

ādityāsaḥ sumahasah (SV *sa°*) *kṛnotana* RV. SV

agnih sudakṣah sultanur ha bhūtvā MŚ *agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS †
°*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS KS

namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (TS *samvṛdhvane*, KS *savṛdhvane*, MS
svṛdhvane) *ca* VS TS MS KS

sajātānām śraīṣṭhya ā dhehy enam AV TS.: *sa° madhye śraīṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā* MS : *suajātānām śraīṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* KS
tad vo astu suçelanam (JB. °*lunam*, ŚŚ. *sajoṣanam*) AV. AB GB.
 JB ŚŚ

marutvān astu ganavān saajātavān (AŚ *suajātan*) TB AŚ
akah su (TS *sa*) *lokam suktam prthivyāh* (VS ŚB °*vyām*) VS TS MS
 KS ŚB Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* exchanges with *su*
ayam sa (ŚŚ *su*) *vām aśvinā bhāga ā galam* AV. AŚ ŚŚ
pra sūmartyam (*su mṛtyum*) *yuyolana* SMB ApMB. *pra sa mṛtyum*
yuyolana HG Here *sa* seems uninterpretable; Conc would
 read *su*

dadhād yo dhāyi sute vayānsi SV *dadhāt yo dhāyi sa te vayānsi* RV
 Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* varies with a syllable *su* of
 different character, involving false divisions of words.

samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV. AV SV VS. TS KS : *samsraṣṭāsu*
yulsv indro ganeṣu MS

nṛcakṣāh (MŚ. *sucakṣāh*) *soma uta suśrug* (comm and Poona ed *śuśrug*,
 MŚ. *sasrud*) *astu* TB MŚ If Poona ed is right, TB has *śu-*, the
 reduplicating syllable See §145

§613. Similarly, the particle *u* varies with *a-* of the augment, or
 with other *a-*

yajñah pratyāṣṭhāt (*v 1 praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau*
matīnām MŚ

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasālaye* RV. SV. In VV I p 26 we have
 suggested here possible influence of the following *v*, separated
 from the vowel only by the aspirate

irām u ha (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ AG.

§614. The particle *nu* varies with the negative *na*, or with other
na, sometimes involving false division of words

tam te vṛ śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt (MS KS *nu madhye*) VS MS KS
 ŚB. *idam te tad vṛ śyāmy āyuso na madhyāt* TS

yajñāyate vā paśuso na (MS *nu*) *vājān* RV MS KB

upānasah saparyan RV † *upo nu sa saparyan* SV

avasyuvātā brhatī (TS °*tir*) *na* (TS *nu*, AŚ *tu*) *śakvarī* (TS °*rih*) TS
 MS KS AŚ

māhān indrah paraś ca nu (SV *puraś ca nah*) RV AV SV Metathesis
 of *a·u*

§615. Various adverbs and adjectives in *pur-*, *par-* interchange,
 this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in
 §605, q v Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur.

pari pūṣā parastāt (AV *pu°*) RV AV

yasmāj jālā na parā naiva kim canāsa TA.: *yasmāj jālam na purā kim canaiva* VS · *yasmāj jālo na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ *anyo*) *asti* JB ŚŚ : *yasmāl param nāparam asti kimcit* TA. MahānU. N.: *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Vait. *yasmād anyo na paro asti jālah* PB.: *yasmān na jālah paro anyo asti* (NṛpU. 'sti) VS. TB. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU

[*ye devāḥ purahsado* . . TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ BDh : *ye devā agni-netrāḥ purahsadas* . VS. ŚB Conc quotes *parahsado* for TS]

§616. Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words, sometimes with false division of words

pra na (SV *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV. *tu nah*) RV. SV.

sarve rādhyāḥ stha (ŚŚ °*yās tu*) *putrāḥ* AB ŚŚ

devāṅso yasman tveḍa tat satyām upariprutā (ApŚ *apariprutā*) *bhañgena* (ApŚ *bhañgyena*) VS ŚB. ApŚ.

ugro (MG *agne*, HG *ūrdhvo*) *virājann* (MG *virājam*) *apa* (MG. *upa-*) *sedha* (AV *vṛñkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG MG *upaśṛuvate* (ŚŚ *apa*°, corrupt?) *tvā* AŚ ŚŚ

apa snehitā etc RV AV. SV KS *upa stuh* etc TA. See §110.

tām brahmā tu (AV ApMB *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*, ApMB *śansati*) RV AV ApMB

§617. The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another.

mitro yatra (AV *no atra*) *varuno ayyamānah* (AV *yuyya*°) RV. AV.

devebhur aklam (VS TS *yuktam*) *aditih sajoṣāḥ* VS TS MS KSA

vācā cit prayatam (AŚ *ca prayuti*) *devahedanam* TB AŚ ApŚ

pramade (TB °*mude*) *kumārīputram* VS TB

anu stomam mudimahi (PB *mademahi*) RV. AV. PB

asmin goṣṭhe kariṣṇīḥ (Kauś °*nah*, MS *purīṣṇīḥ*) AV. MS Kauś.

See §152, note p before u

sā sannaddhā sanuḥi vījam emam (MŚ *sunuḥi bhāgadheyam*) AV MG

(Others, §52) ā-san: *su*, near-synonyms

añjanī suprayasam (Ppp *yujñjanī suprajāsam*) *pañca janāḥ* RV AV Ppp

MS See §192

vāyosānitra (MS *vāyusavitrībhyaṁ*) *āgomugbhyaṁ caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA.

pratnāso agna rātam āśuśānāḥ (AV *āśaśānāḥ*) RV AV. VS TS

aśimahi (MS *uś*°) *tvā* MS TA

ā rāsmīn (RV °*mim*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB °*vah*)

RV VS ŚB TB

ni galgalūti dhārakā VS ŚB · *ni jalgalūti* (KSA *ms tjalgalūti*, ed *em* °*lūti*) *dhāmikā* TS KSA Onomatopoeic forms?

ye pūrvāso ya uparāsa (AV *ye apa°*, some mss *ya upa°*, comm *u. parāsaḥ*) *īyuh* RV AV VS TS MS

[*yaje samrāḍhanīm aham* ŚB BrhU AŚ SMB ApMB *yuje* (but read *yaje* with most mss, Hillebrandt, p 250) †*samardham im aham* ŚŚ · *agnau samrāḍhanīm yaje* HG.]

§618. And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote *pratīpam prāṭisulvanam* (AB °*salvanam*) AV AB ŚŚ Boehtlingk regards the reading °*sulv°* as a corruption of the other But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain *sulvan* as *salvan*

svasī nah putrakṛtheṣu (MG *pathyākr̥teṣu*, v. 1 as RV) *yonīṣu* RV AB MG

vasiṣṭhahanuh śiṅgīni kośyābhyām VS *oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA °*kośā°*) TS TA

yamasya loke adhiraṇjūr āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nīdhur ajarāya*) AV MS TA See §401

adha syāma (MS *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ *syām asur ubhayor*) *gr̥heṣu* AV. MS KS ApŚ See §840.

pratīśrūtākāyā artanam (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB See §651.

śumbhānas (śambh°) . . , see §287

in no rāṣṭram unattu . . TB *nam te rāṣṭram anaktu* AV See §139
bhakṣimahi (TS MS. KS *Vaiṣ dhukṣ°*) *prajāṃ iṣam* RV SV TS MS
KS PB Vait

rajanī . . , *rajjunī* . . , see §107

īde agnīm svavasam (AV *svāvasum*) *namobhuh* RV AV MS TB AŚ
See §466

īmau stām anupakṣitau (ApMB *anapekṣ°*) AV ApMB

āśum jayantam anu (KS *yā samjayanantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV VS
TS. MS KS ŚB

abhi spr̥dha usro vedīm tatarā ŚŚ *vy usridho asro adrir bibheda* TB

The TB looks generally secondary Comm *asro nirasanakūśalo priyāny aṅgāni svadhītā parūṅsi* (Vait *aṅgā sukr̥tā purūṅi*) TB Vait
[*hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram acīṣtum* (TB Conc °*ḷam*, Poona ed °*ḷum*, which certainly read) MS KS TB]

[*haviṣ haviṣṣu* (SV *haviṣu*) *vandyah* (SV. Conc wrongly °*yuh*) RV. SV]

[*asmākam anśum maghavan puruṣpr̥ham* SV Conc 'read *anśam*' for *anśum*; but cf. Benfey's Glossary, perhaps *anśum* is correct]

[*upa drava payasā godhug oṣam* (ŚŚ † *oṣum*, AŚ † *payasā goṣam*) AV
AB AŚ ŚŚ Both AŚ and ŚŚ probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV]

5. Other interchange of *a* and *u* vowels

§619. The variations between long *ā* and *ū*, and between *a* and *u* with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of *ā* and *ū*.

dwyo gandharvah ketapūh (VSK °*pāh*) *ketam nah* (MS KS omit *nah*)
punātu VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB SMB, 'Purifying (protecting)
 the will', the verb *punātu* is cognate with -*pūh* of the original
 reading

pitā devānām janitā vibhūvasuh (ApŚ MŚ *vibhā*°) RV SV ApŚ MŚ
drapsaś caskanda prthwīm anu dyām (RV. *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV
 AV VS. TS MS KS ŚB

aghadviṣṭā devajātā AV Kauś *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ
yad annam admi (PrānāgU *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrānāgU *vrād-*
dham, vv ll *vrājam*, *viruddham*) AV. TA PrānāgU

§620. Besides the last, which also includes a form with short *u*, we find short *u* and *ā* varying in

salhā suśevo advayāh (Mahānāmnyah °*yuh*) RV. KS AA Mahānām-
 nyah Nom sing masc of *as u* stems

yo nah (AV *mā*) *kadācid abhidāsati druḥā* (AV. *druḥuh*) RV AV. *druḥā*,
 instr sing of stem *druḥ*, *druḥuh*, nom sing of adj *druḥu*

sā prasūr (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG °*gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG ApMB HG
 Pronoun *sā* prefix *su*

pumānsam u (ŚG *ā*) *dadhad* (ŚG †*dadhād*) *iha* AV. ŚG Add to VV I
 §§167, 193

§621. Variants of *a* and *ū*

yad adya hotrvarye (ŚŚ °*vūrye*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ °*vūrya* is Rigvedic, its
 long *ū* seems anomalous For the *u*-vocalism cf *vrūta* etc (VV I
 §10)

nakih (RV *nū cit*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV SV *nū = nu*

druḥah pāsān (TS KS *pāsam*) *pratī sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV TS MS
 KS See §612

utsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva (KS MŚ *ūrmim*, VS *arvan*, VSK
 °*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS VSK TS KS ApŚ MŚ See §228

6 Interchanges of short *i* and *u*

§622. These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittiriya school show a tendency to substitute *u* for *i*, in various formative syllables These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

v for *y* (§§247-8) The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change, so in

pareywānsam (TA ApŚ *pareyu*°) *pravato mahīr anu* (AV *iti*) RV AV MS TA AŚ N (Pratikas, ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś Rvidh) This form of the perfect active participle of *parā* + *z* is certainly anomalous enough in appearance, possibly the *u* may be partly due to assimilation to the following *v*

hlādike hlādikāvati (TA *hlāduke hlādu*°) RV AV TA Here, too, another motive is discernible The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root *hlād*, 'cooling' This meaning in the Brāhmaṇa language is expressed by the suffix *uka*, cf Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 104 ff But again the form appears only in a Tait text

goṣv aśveṣu śubhriṣu (TB °*uṣu*) RV AV KS TB The stem *śubhru* occurs only here, the surrounding *u* vowels may have assisted (assimilation)

made-made hī no dadāh (TB *daduh*) RV AV MS KS TB AŚ *daduh* can only be a noun form equal to *dadāh*, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable) The *sarhūtā* mss of MS have a different phonetic corruption, *dadṛk*, ed follows p p

§623. In other texts *z* and *u* occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the *u* forms are less anomalous *acety aghnś cikītuḥ* (SV KS °*tiḥ*) RV SV KS Perhaps assimilation in SV KS

dāvvyā (AV *dāvā*) *holdro* (TS °*rā*, AV °*rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanuṣ*°, KS † *vanuṣan na*, AV *sanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *etat*) RV AV TS KS The ancient aorist *vanuṣanta* is based on *vanu-*, the same element mentioned above in §606, end It is historically quite as justified as *vanuṣanta*, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS, contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation

§624. In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned

ṛkṣo jatūh suṣulūkā (MS *śuśulūkā*) *ta itaraṇanānām* VS MS (p p of MS *suṣulūketi suṣulūkā*) See §279

dr̥ṣe ca (MS *dr̥ṣā ca*, RV *abhikhyā*) *bhāsā brhatā suṣukvanīh* (RV *śuśu*°, KS °*vabhuk*, MS *suśikmanā*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §240

§625. In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in *z* and imperatives in *u* They need not be listed here, see VV I, e g §116 Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be

sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt, unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, *hum* and (commoner) *hum*·

paśānām tvā himkādenābhūyighrāmy (GG °mī, HG *hum*°) *asau* .

SMB GG ApMB HG

§626. In several variants forms of root *śri* exchange with *śru* or *sru*:
agne tram sūklavāg asy upaśruti (ŚB AŚ ŚŚ °tī, TB *upaśrito*) *divas*
 (TB *divah*) *prthivyoh* MS. ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ *upaśrito divah prthivyoh*
 TS

śavasā hy asi śrutah (AV *śritah*) RV. AV But SPP *srutah* for AV,
 with many mss (other mss *śritah*), and so Whitney's Transl

ā tvā parisrutah (MG. °sṛtah, mss °tam; AG °śritah) *kumbhah* (ApMB †
 °āh) AG PG ApMB MG And others; see §275

§627. The rest are sporadic

prajāvatīh sūyavasam (AV. °se) *ruśantīh* (RV. TB comm *riś*°) RV AV.
 TB See Whitney's note on AV *ruś*° 'shining', tho no doubt
 secondary to *riś*° 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is
 clearly the reading of AV. tradition

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ *hito*, v. 1 *huto*) 'sī (MŚ †bhava) TS MŚ Thus, as
 between *i* and *u*, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the
 mss of MŚ

svarūdo abhi gā adriṁ uṣṇan (SV *iṣṇan*) RV SV. See §401

pāti priyam ripo (and, *rupo*) *agram padam veh* RV (both) *pāty agnir*
vipo agram padam veh ApŚ Read *rupo* in both RV passages, cf.
 Ludwig ad loc, Bloomfield, JAOS 27 75, and RVRep 184

apām tvā sadhrīṣi (MS † *sadhrīṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB See
 §353 The MS is mangled, is its ending felt as loc plur? (*sadhrīṣi*
 loc sing)

upa yajñam asthuta (MŚ *astu no*, AV comm *astṛta*) *varīśvadevī* RV. Kh.
 AV ApŚ MŚ

ā śuṣe (SV *āśiṣe*) *rādhasa mahe* RV SV. The RV has a verb form from
ā-śvas 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty' In SV. we have
 an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form The
 ending *e* suggests a dative matching the following *rādhasa*, hence
āśiṣe 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb
 Benfey supplies 'we summon'

ṛtasyarītena mām uta (TA *ita*) TB TA *ṛtasya tv enam āmutah* (p p
tū, *enam*, *mā'm*, *uttām ma'*) MS (corrupt in both forms) TA
 comm takes *ita* as a verb form (= *prāpnuta*)

mandāna ud vr̥ṣāyate (SV *id vr̥ṣāyase*) RV SV

ṣad id yamā (TA udyamā) ṛṣayo devayā itī RV AV. TA N
 ud it te vasuvillamāh ApŚ ud u tye (MS MŚ ud-ut te) madhumattamāh
 RV AV SV MS GB PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait MŚ
 sarvān it tān anu vidūr vasiṣṭhāh RV sarvam ukṣam anuvīdur vasiṣṭhāh
 JB
 viśvair devai rātibhīh samrarānah (MG devair ṛtubhīh samvidānah)
 ApMB MG
 sugandhum (subandhum) , see §152
 lokam (RV ulokam) u (ApŚ id) dve upa jāmī (RV jāmim) īyatuh
 RV MS ApŚ
 [vātāpe pīva id bhava RV KS †—Conc ud for KS id]
 nādya satrum nanu (ŚB † na nu) purā vvitse (ŚB yuyutse) RV SV
 See §255, and other interchanges of vi yu in §805
 akhvandāya svāhā KSA ulvardāya svāhā TB ApŚ See §579
 achidā uśyah padānu takṣuh TS achidrośyah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuh
 (so text, em by Caland, ms † padānutakṣiṣvat) KS
 vratām (MS TB ApŚ vratā nu) bāhhrad vratapā adabdhah (TB ŚŚ ApŚ
 ŚG adābhyah) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG

7 Interchanges of long ī and ū (u)

§628. Here are found only a few stray variants
 ūrjam śamsūdena (KSA °sīdena) TS KSA Parts of a horse's body,
 wholly obscure TS comm samsudam samtataḥsarano nāsikādih
 viṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyyamānah VS . apūtapā ādhūyamānah TS The
 passages are rather low bathos
 ahir na jīrnām (TB ahir ha jīrnām) atī sa. patī tvacam RV SV TB
 Both participles of the dissyllabic root jṛ The ī form is regular in
 Sanskrit, but the Vedic ū form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton,
Ind Stud C R Lanman 27)
 ṛkṣo jatuh suśūkā (śuśulūkā) , see §624
 sam īm (SV u) rebhāso asvaran RV AV SV
 dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāh . VS pitrbhyo barkiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhr-
 vanūkāśān ApŚ See §742

CHAPTER XIV VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629. With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic. That is, *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from *r* (*l*) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older *a*, *i*, or *u*, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by *r* in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic *r* and consonantal *r* with another vowel, especially when that other vowel is *i* or *u*, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of *r* as *ri* or *ru*. On the other hand the not infrequent variations between *r* and *ra* or *ar* are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical, that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf. our remarks in §20.

1 *r* and *a* (one anomalous case of *ā*)

§631. We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the R̥gveda itself.

ava sma durhanāyatah (SV. *durhṛn*°) RV SV. The SV. has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally *hṛn*, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism *han*.

īṣām khr̥galyam śavam (ApŚ *khagalyam śapham*) MS ApŚ. An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form *khr̥gala*, RV, if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related.

paṣṭhavād (MS *pr̥ṣṭhavād*, p p *paṣṭavād*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS

TB The p p form of MS suggests that its samhitā form may be a hyper-Sanskritism, in any case it is hardly to be doubted that it gives the original form of the word

etām samkṛṣya (MS MŚ °kaṣya or °kuṣya) *juhudhi* MS ApŚ. MŚ The MS. MŚ. forms are not incapable of interpretation as lexically independent words, Boehtlingk chooses the form °kuṣya But they are probably Prakritic after all

achalābhīh (KSA °rābhīh, MS [m]atsarābhīh, VS ṛkṣalābhīh) *kapiñjalān* VS TS MS KSA. See §184. The AV. knows ṛcharā, probably ṛ is older than a

§632. The following cases seem more or less clearly to contain hyper-Sanskritism in the forms with ṛ.

sarvam tam masmasā (VS *bhas*°) *kuru* VS TS ŚB *sarvāns tām maṣmaṣā* (MS ṛmṛsmṛsā) *kuru* MS KS TA *sarvān nī maṣmaṣākaram* AV In this onomatopoeic word (cf Eng mash) there is no doubt that the a vowel is original, MS. pedantically tries to make it sound Sanskritic and 'hifalutin'

atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS *vavarṣvān pūrtā rāvat*, KS *vavṛṣvān pūrtā rāvat*) TS MS KS And various other formulas in the same passages, all containing the same exclamations Despite the lingual ṛ in MS *rāvat*, which might be argued to point to an original ṛ, we believe with Keith that *āvṛt* is a mere hyper-Sanskritism, without real standing Cf §168

vanasade (MS *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *vet* (TS MS *vat*) VS TS MS KS ŚB See §650

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛj*°, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB ApMB HG The SMB form is certainly a hyper-Sanskritism if it is not corrupt, one ms *bhajāsi*, Stonner 'geniessen' (as if *bhaj*)

yagyryuktam sāmabhr āktakham tvā (MS *ṛktakham tā*, p p *ṛktakham it* *ṛkta-khām*, *tā* [unaccented]) MS TA This is the only case of a varying with ṛ, it is highly problematic See §365

§633. The remaining cases are more clearly lexical in character In the first we have probably a mere textual error

jīvasūr devakāmā (HG *vīrasūh*) *syonā* ApMB HG *prajāvatī* *ṛvīrasūr devṛkāmā* AV *vīrasūr devakāmā* (AV *devr*°, SMB °sūr *jīvasūr deva*°, GG °sūr *jīvasūr*) *syonā* (AV omits, GG *jīvapatnī*) RV AV SMB. GG PG MG Most mss of AV read *deva*° both times, and this is doubtless the true AV reading, as Whitney observes Either reading would however make sense

indro nāma śruto gr̥ne (TB ApŚ *gane*) SV TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *gr̥ne* is dubious, Benfey suggests taking it as 3d sing passive, *gane* is simple enough but may be a lect fac

jātena jātam aṭi sa pra sarsṛte (TB *aṭi sṛt pra sṛnsate*) RV MS TB Comm on TB *sṛt prasṛtam*, *aṭi prasṛnsate* 'līṣayena prasransayaty *adhah karoṭi* TB is evidently secondary

§634. In the other lexical changes the two forms are less close to each other in form, the vowel change being accompanied by other changes in the words We omit cases of *bṛhat* and *mahat*, cf §241.

vadhūr jagāna (AV *jigāya*, MS KS *mimāya*) *navagaṇ* (ŚG. *navah.ṇ*) *jantrī* AV TS MS KS ŚG ApMB See §46

jagdhā vīṛṣṭir (HG *vicaṣṭir*) ApMB HG. *jagdho maśako jagdhā vīṛṣṭir* (HG *vicaṣṭir*) ApMB HG. *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdho maśako jagdhā vīṛṣṭi svāhā* ApMB *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdhā vicaṣṭir jagdho maśakah* HG See §156.

ud usṛiyāh sṛjate (TB *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV SV TB See §3
dadhr̥g (TA *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV °*kṣan*) *paryāṅkṛhayāte* (TA °*ai*, AV. *parīṅkṛhayātar*) RV AV TA See §145

ajānti (SV *mṛjanti*) *vahnīm sadanāny* (SV °*neṣv*) *acha* RV. SV
savitā bhṛtyām (KS †*manyām*) TS KS So ms of KS, ed em *bhṛtyām*
yad adya dṛgdham pṛthvīm asṛpta (TB ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ *abhakta*) AB.
TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ See §152

satyanyasā dr̥ghanā (MS *durhṇā*, KS †*dr̥hanā*) *yam nudethe* TS MS
KS. *sacetasau druhvano yau nudethe* AV See §305

somah sūtah pūyate ajyamānah (SV *sula ṛcyate pūyamānah*) RV SV.
See §57.

rasena sam asṛkṣmahī (RV *agasmahī*, KS LŚ *aganmahī*, AV. JB. *apṛkṣmahī*) RV AV. VS TS MS KS JB. ŚB TB LŚ ApMB

yāv (MS. KS *yā*) *ātmanvad bībhṛto* (KS † °*tho*, AV *viśato*) *yau ca rak-satah* (AV KS † °*thah*) AV TS MS KS

deva puraścara saghyāsam (MS *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA. ApŚ MŚ But cf §838, it is doubtful if this belongs here.

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānṛdhuh (TS *ānṛhuh*, MS *ānaśuh*) AV TS MS

āsannmūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV AV TS MS KSA N *āsann esām*
apsuvāho mayobhūn SV See §820

2 ṛ and ɪ (once ī)

§635. Here most of the variants can be justified lexically in either form Perhaps the clearest cases of Prakritism are the two following

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritic form occurs, in three out of four texts, and even in the fourth a v l has it

tejo yaśasn sthāvīram samiddham (ŚG *saṃiddham*, v l *samī*°) ŚG PG. ApMB HG See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34, *samiddham* is pretty clearly for *saṃiddham*

dadhīṣa ehi ApŚ *dadhīṣy ehi* MS The forms are voc sing fern, and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritic form of root *dhr̥ṣ*, so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kuhne'

To these may be appended another, in which however *ṛ* for *ṛ* seems to be a textual corruption

ayam śatrūn jayatu jarhṣānah (AŚ † *jarhṣ*°) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ But elsewhere AŚ has the *vīkūra aḥam śa° jayāmi jarhṣānah*, indicating that *jarhṣ*° is corrupt

§636. An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next, *gotrabhṛd* is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar *gotrabhū*), cf Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34

puramdaro gotrabhṛd (MS °*bhṛd*, all mss, TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS MS KS TB

§637. In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between *ṛ* and *ṛ*, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritic influence, even if the forms are both historically correct.

jānum ṛtvā māva patsi lokāt AV *jānum itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA The roots *ṛ* and *ṛ* are synonyms But Poona ed of TA *jāmi mitvā ādityānām prasīti* (MS °*sṛti*) *hetir ugrā* MS TB TA 'Extension' 'progress' Cf. next two

prayatīś ca me prasūtīś (MS. KS °*sṛtīś*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS Cf prec and next

dīrghām anu prusūtim (KS *saṃṛtim*) *āyuse dhām* (KS *tvā*) VS TS KS ŚB TB. *dīrghām anu prasūtim saṃprśethām* MS Cf prec two *tām dhīrāso anudīśya* (VSK °*dīśya*) *yajante* (KS. †*anudīśyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK TS KS TB *tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta* MS *tām u dhīrāso anudīśya yajante* VS ŚB *anu-dīś* 'assign'. *anu-dīś* 'survey'.

tam ghed (MS. *hed*) *agnir vṛdhāvati* (MS *vidh*°) RV TS MS In the original there are two words, *vṛdhā avati* MS. is obscure and probably corrupt, p p *vadhā* (sic'), *avati*

§638. To this same group belongs the single case involving long ī; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ mss read °mr̥te with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text. But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root *mī* 'change, alter'

tasmin sīdām̐te pratīṣṭha (MŚ text *sīdām̐te pratīṣṭhan*) TB ApŚ.

MŚ Add to VV I §250

§639. Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between *hṛta* (or *dhṛta*), participle of *dhā*, in compounds, and *bhṛta* (once *hṛta*), from *bhṛ* (*hr̥*)

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bībhartu (Ppp *pīpartu*) AV. · *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhṛtam dadhātu* TB

gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat VS *ga° nāma nahitam guhāsu* TA

MahānU And others; §855

devair devīḥ samāhṛtāḥ RVKh (but Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*) · *devīr devaḥ samāhṛtāḥ* (TB °*bhṛtāḥ*) SV TB

yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam (AŚ *prahitam*, MŚ *nṛitam*) *padam hi te* TB AŚ ApŚ. MŚ

hiranye 'smin samāhṛtāḥ (RVKh Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*, HG °*bhṛtāḥ*) RVKh ApMB HG

garbha wa (SV KU. [Poley's ed] *wet*) *subhṛto garbhunībhiḥ* (RV *sudhuto garbhunīṣu*) RV SV KU

sūryaraśmam samābhṛtam TS TB *sūryāñ* (p p °*yāt*) *śukram samābhṛtam* MS. *sūrye santam* (KS TA *śukram*) *samāhṛtam* (KS TA. *samābhṛtam*) VS KS ŚB. TA

§640. Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants

priyo ma hṛdo (MŚ *kuto*, v l *kuto*) 'sī (MŚ *ībhava*) TS MŚ.

imā (MS *īdam*) *brahma pīpīhi* (MS *pīpīhi*, v. l *pīpīhi*) *saubhagāya* VS MS KS ŚB

vṛṣaṅgūṭr no 'vṛtah (SV. 'vṛtā) RV. SV. *a-vṛ-tah* *av-i-tā* (nom. ag, root *av*). *hoṭrāṇdah* (RV °*vida*, TB °*vṛdha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkaḥ* RV AV. MS TB *mā no vidad* (KS *vṛdhad*) *vṛjīnā* (KS TB ApŚ °*anā*) *dveṣyā* † *yā* AV. KS TB ApŚ

indrartubhir brahmanā vāvṛdhānah TB ApŚ *indra ṛbhubhir brahmanā samvidānah* ŚŚ

āñjanena serpiṣā sam viśantu (AV *spṛśantām*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV TA

atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoh (RV. N *vṛṣnah*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N *Viṣṇu* is meant even in RV, later texts substitute the name for the epithet

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvūr (SV *prāntarīkṣāt sthāvūrīś te*) *asṛkṣata* RV SV
vācaspatē hr̥dvīdhe nōman (MS MŚ *hinvīdhe*) MS TA ŚŚ MŚ All
 mss and p p of MS agree on the strange form Even *hr̥dvīdhe*
 is none too clear (TA comm *hr̥dayasya vidhātāh cīlāprerakety*
arthah)

vr̥trasyāsi (*mitra*°) see §235.

made-made hi no dadāh (TB *daduh*, MS *sambh mss dadṛk*) RV AV
 MS KS TB AŚ See §622

adṛnhatīhāh śarkarābhīś trivṣṭapī (MŚ *trībhṛṣṭībhīh*) KS ApŚ MŚ
 See §222

īśāno vi śyā (= *śiyā*, TS *srjā*) *dṛtīm* AV TS MS KS

upa yaṣṭnam asthuta (AV comm *astṛta*, MŚ *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RV. Kh.
 AV ApŚ MŚ

dame-dame suṣṭutā (TS °*tīr*, MS ° *tī*, AŚ ŚŚ °*tīr*) *vōṛdhānā* (AV
 °*nuu*, AŚ ŚŚ *vām vyānā*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ See §236

[*eṣa iṣāya* (AV Berlin ed *ṛṣaye*, emendation) *māmahe* AV ŚŚ Keep
iṣāya with AV mss]

3 r (ṛ) and u (ū)

§641. The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be
 prevailingly Prakritic in character We should expect *u* for *r* especially
 in the vicinity of labial consonants, but except in the first variant
 (before *m*), we hardly find this to be the case, the only other instances
 with labials (e g *bṛ* and *bhū*) are lexical The most clearly Prakritic
 cases are

tvaṣṭrīmantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭrī*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS KS
 ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Cf *tvaṣṭrīmatī* (TS ApŚ and TA Poona ed
tvaṣṭrī°) *te sapeya* TS TA ApŚ The Taittirīya form is feminized
ut (Vait *adhāma*) *sakthyā* (ŚŚ Vait °*yor*) *ava gudaṁ* (TS KSA ApŚ
sakthyor gr̥dam) *dhehī* VS TS KSA ŚB ŚŚ Vait ApŚ Altho
gr̥da seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be
 the original form of *guda*

etām samkṛṣya (MS MŚ °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhī* MS ApŚ MŚ See
 §631

ṛtaprajātā (MŚ *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vah syāma* TS MŚ This may be
 called a lexical variant, since MŚ makes sense, but it is doubtless
 fundamentally Prakritic

§642. Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably
 both are mere textual errors or corruptions

sa nirudhyā nahuṣo (TB Conc *nahrṣo*) *yahvo agnih* RV TB But Poona ed of TB text and comm *nahuṣo*, the only possible reading
devam manah kulo (AV *kṛto*) *adhī prajātam* RV AV Altho all mss of AV apparently agree on *kṛto* (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read *kulo*, with Whitney.

made-made hi no dadūh (*daduh*, *dadṛk*), see §§622, 640

§643. More purely lexical variants are—

prīyo me hṛdo (MŚ *hnto* or *kuto*) 'si (MŚ *†bhava*) TS MŚ See §640
agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛnvan* (RV *apunann*) *uśīro amṛtyave* (RV. °*vah*, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS. ApŚ

vanīṣhor hṛdayād (AV * *udarād*) *adhī* RV AV (both) ApMB.

upa yajñam asthita (*astṛta*, *astu no*) . . , see §640

avimuktacakra (°*rā*) *āsīran* PG *vivṛttacakrā āsīnāh* HG ApMB.

Note labial consonants preceding *r* *u*

āyurdā deva (AV. *agne*) *jarasam vṛnānah* (ApMB. ApG HG *grn°*) AV MS KS MŚ ApMB HG ApG *āyurdā* (VS ŚB. *āyusmān*)
agne haviṣo juṣānah (VS ŚB ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG

§644. The only cases of long *ū* and *ṛ* concern compounds of the roots *bhū* and *bhr*, which are practically synonyms here

adbhyah sambhṛtah (TA MahānU ApŚ *sambhūtah*) *prthivyaḥ* (MS KS *†°vyā*) *rasāc ca* (KS *rasah*) VS MS KS TA MahānU KŚ ApŚ PG

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyaḥ (PB ŚŚ KŚ also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatryaḥ*; TS ApŚ *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhah pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS ApŚ omit) *'bhūbhūlaye* (TS ApŚ *abhūbhūtyaḥ*, ŚŚ *'bhūbhṛtyaḥ*, KŚ *'bhūbhūtyaḥ*) *svāhā* TS PB ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ *· arīṣṭyā avyathyaḥ samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyā* (also *triṣṭubho*, *jagatyā*, *anuṣṭubho*, *pañktyā*) *abhūbhūtyaḥ svāhā* ApŚ

Once *ṛ* is corruptly written *ū* in a single ms .

tāsām svasṛr ajanayat (MS *svar ajanan*, KS ms *† svasūr* [ed em *svasṛr*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS MS KS

4 *l* and *u*

§645. There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form A perfect middle participle of root *klp* appears twice in ApŚ with *u* for *l* There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots

§649. In various participles and gerundives.

atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS *vavarṣvān pūrtā rāvaḥ*, KS *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvaḥ*) *svāhā* TS MS KS See VV I p 147.

jāgaritāya (KSA *jāgrtāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA Both equivalent participles *adhā te viṣṇo viduṣā cid ardhyah* (TB *rdhyah*) RV TB Gerundives, cf Whitney §963b, 4

dāma grīvāsv avimokṣyam yat (TS *avicartiyam*) AV TS *pāśam grīvāsv avicartiyam* (VS ŚB °*crtiyam*) VS MS KS ŚB Cf. prec AV Ppp according to Whitney has °*crtiyam*

§650. In other noun and adjective formations

śam methir (ApMB *śam te methī*) *bhavatu śam yugasya tadmā* (ApMB *tṛdmā*) AV ApMB No stem *tṛdman* is otherwise known
alandrāso yuvatayo vibhṛtram (TB *vibhartram*) RV TB Poona ed of TB text and comm *bibhartram* Agni is referred to, TB comm *poṣakam*

aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG *aprajasyam pautramartyam* SMB Comm on SMB repeats the form, glossing *putrasam-bandhīmaranam*

pra sa (tead *su*?) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG · *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* ApMB. SMB *prathamam artim yuyotu nah* MG.

agner (ApŚ *devā*) *akṛnvann* (RV *apunann*) *uśyo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vah*, ApŚ *amartyave*) RV MS ApŚ In ApŚ a blended stem *-mṛtyu* (fused from *marta*, *martya*, and *mṛtyu*), cf prec

jīvātave na mṛtyave (PB *marlave*) RV PB Infinitive in PB

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS . *sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahī* SV JB

vanasade (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS *vanṛṣade*) *veḥ* (TS MS *vaḥ*) VS TS MS KS ŚB The stem *vanar*, equivalent to *vana*, is found in RV. in compounds It does not occur independently, and *vanṛ* is not recorded even in compounds except here The next preceding phrase in KS is *nṛṣade veḥ*, the *r* of *nṛ* has perhaps been responsible for *vanṛ*°

devāh pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt (AV. *nirṛthāt*) RV. AV TS. Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition', *nirṛtha* also Rigvedic

[*nṛṣkartā* (RV KŚ *ṛṣ*°, ApMB Conc wrongly *nṛṣkṛtā*) *vihṛutam* (PB TA. ApMB. *vihṛtam*) *punah* RV AV. SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB]

§651. Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words

pratiśrutkāyā artanam (TB *ṛtulam*) VS TB *artanam*, comm. *duhkhīnam*, BR. 'reviler', *ṛtulam*, comm *deśarājavārtākathanaśīlam*

sarnīkāya tvā TS sṛdīkāya tvā MS Both words wholly obscure, said to mean 'water'

dviṣas taradhyā (ApŚ ° yai) ṛnayā na īyase (SV. īrase) RV. SV KB AB ApŚ dviṣas tad adhy arnaveneyase AV.

7 *r* and *ār*

§652. Here we find only a few cases, in most of which *ār* shows the *vriḍhi* of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with *r* Once a form with prefixed preposition *ā* varies with the same form without *ā*

aprajāstvam mārtavatsam AV aprajastām pautramṛtyum ApMB HG Others, §650

ārtavā (MS KS ṛtavo) adhīpataya (MS KS 'dhi°) āsan VS MS KS ŚB ārtavo 'dhīpatir āsū TS

ṛtavo 'srjyanta VS TS ŚB ārtavā asrjyanta MS KS

agnir grhapatīnām (MS KS gārhapatyānām) VS TS MS KS ŚB

*ārtyai (TB ṛtyai) janavādīnam VS TB Stem ṛti, from *r* ārti, from *ā* + *r**

8 *r* and *ir*, *ur*, *ūr*

§653. Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least As to *r ir*, we find just two cases in which the *samhitā* mss of MS (the same text each time!) read *r* for proper *ir* In both cases the p p points to the reading *ir* Von Schroeder inconsistently retains *r* in one case and emends to *ir* in the other, there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other

nama ānirhatebhyah (MS ānr°, p p ānir°) VS TS MS KS ŚB

anuttam ā te maghavan nahir nu (MS mss nakṛnu, ed em nahir nu, p p nakis, tu) RV VS MS KS

§654. Under *r. ur* we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious *agnir dvārā vy ṛvati RV TB* Conc quotes *urnvati* for TB ; but Poona ed text and comm *ṛn°* without *v l*

satyaugasā dṛghanā (MS durhrnā, KS ṛdṛghanā) yam nudthe TS MS KS And others. see §305

nābhirmṛśc (MS KS nābhīdhṛṣe) tantā (TS tanurā) jarbhurānah (TS MS KS jarhṛṣānah) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Might also be classed in §643

§655. Of *r*: *ūr* we find only the following, in which the root *r* varies with the so-called 'root' *ūrnu*, really a form of *vr*:
tveṣas te dhūma rnvati (AV *ūrnotu*) RV AV SV. LŚ KŚ MŚ

9. *r* and *ra*, *rā*

§656. In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Samprasāraṇa', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp 69-71, and cf. the similar variations of *i* and *u* with *ya* and *va* in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of *r* varying with *ra* which stands for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation) and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological.

§657. The cases of so-called Samprasāraṇa concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as *grah*, *grabh*), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of *grabh*, *grbh*, on which see especially VV I §281

agrbhāt VSK . *agrabhāt* VS AŚ ŚŚ

agrbhīṣata VS . *agrabhīṣata* KS

udgrabhenod agrabhāt (MS *ajugrabhat*, KS *ajigrabham*, and *ajigrbham*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnaye tvā mahyam pratigrahātre (ŚŚ °*grhnate*) VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ

prāno dātra edhi pratigrahātre (ŚŚ °*grhnate*) VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ The
 same with *haya dātra* .

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms.

viṣe viṣam aprīthāh (aprāg api) AV (both)

§658. In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel I c, some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical.

hradam (MS *hṛdam*) *na hi tvā nyṛṣanty ūrmayaḥ* RV MS 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, *brahmāni*)' The ultimate etymology of *hrada* is not clear, but surely *hṛda* can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably *samprasāraṇa*.
 Cf next

- namo nīveṣyāya* (p p *ni°*) *ca hr̥dyāya ca* MS · *namo hradayyāya* (VS. *hrdayyāya*, KS *hradavyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS °ṣyāya) *ca* VS TS KS See §248 The MS and VS forms simulate derivatives of *hr̥d* and *hr̥daya*, but these can hardly be in place here; the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form *hr̥da* = *hrada* found in MS in the preceding variant
- pr̥kṣasya* (ArS *prakṣ°*) *vr̥ṣno aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS *mahaḥ*) RV ArS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh *pr̥kṣa* is a name or epithet of a horse, its etymology is obscure, and *prakṣa* has not been recorded elsewhere
- nīmrado* (ApŚ *nīmṛdo*) 'sī MS KS ApŚ MŚ Apparently different grades of root *mṛd*, Wackernagel p 71
- avātīratam bṛṣayasya* (TB *prathayasya*) *śeṣaḥ* RV TB See §69.
- bhr̥jaś chandah* MS *bhṛjaś chandah* VS TS ŚB *bhr̥jaś chandah* KS † (but v 1 *bhra°*) The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root *bhr̥j*, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l c but may be related to *blajj*, Wackernagel p 69, cf also *bhargas* etc There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots Cf next
- kṣuro bhr̥jaś* (TS *bhr̥jvāñ*, MS *bhr̥jaś*, VS. *bhr̥jaś*, stigmatized by Conc as erroneous, hardly with justice) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf prec
- ārdrāḥ prathasnur* (MŚ †*pr̥thusnur*, v 1 *pratha°*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* TB ApŚ MŚ See §609, and Wackernagel p. 71
- svasty apsu vr̥jane svarvatī* (MG †*vr̥jane svarvataḥ*) RV AB MG Really a lexical variant, *vr̥jana* 'way' is suggested by *pathyāsu* of the preceding pāda But some MG mss read with RV
- [*dīgbhyaś cakravālāḥ* (KSA Conc *calrv°* with the sole ms. ed em *calrav°*) TS KSA This is probably a mere corruption, if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same]
- §659. The roots *rādh* and *ṛdh*, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin, and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group Cf also §806
- ṛdhyāsam adya mahasya śirah* MS TA. ApŚ · *mahasya te 'dya śiro* *rādhyāsam devayajane pr̥thivyāḥ* VS ŚB [The references to MS MŚ in Conc seem to be erroneous]
- tan me rādhyatām* VS TS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ MŚ Kauś SMB *tan me samṛdhyatām* (Kauś *samṛddham*) TB SMB Kauś

harivato graham ṛdhyāsam KS : *harivato harīyojanasya harivantam graham rūdhyāsam* MS

§660. The single case noted of *r* varying with *ra* for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant (Wackernagel I p 212 f) is.

samsṛṣṣāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu MS : *samsraṣṣā* (AV. v 1 *samsṛṣṣā*) *sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS. KS

§661. From the root *śr*, also quoted as *śrā* 'boil', are found the two participles *śṛta* and *śrāta*, which exchange in the following, in which *śṛta* happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise.

suśrātam (AV *suśṛtam*) *manyē tad ṛtam navīyah* RV AV.

§662. The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic. In verb inflection forms in *r* vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological *a* (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing *ra*.

āpo grheṣu jāgrata HG : *āpo jāgrta* MS KS MŚ *āpo haviḥṣu jāgrta*

ApŚ *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG See VV I p 123

ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati (KS *jāgrtha*) AV. KS See VV I p 221

yajamānāya jāgrta ApŚ : *saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG See VV I p 96

te na ātmasu jāgrati (KS † *jāgrta*) AV KS

yat paśur māyum akrta TS ŚŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ SMB GG : *yad vaśā māyum akrata* Kauś See VV I p 257.

yatra-yatra vibhṛto (KS *bībhṛato*) *jātavedāh* AV KS Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p 158), and obscure as to interpretation

§663. Similarly in noun formation, a stem in *r* varies with a derivative in suffixal *a*

hotrakānām (MŚ *hotrk°*, v. 1 *hotrak°*) *camasādhvaryavah*. ApŚ MŚ

The words *hotrka* 'secondary *hotr*' and *hotraka* 'pertaining to the sacrifice (*hotra*)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest

See Caland on ApŚ 12 23 4

§664. Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated, notably three between the stem *kratu* and forms of the root *kṛ*. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology

puṇyikasthalā (KS † *puṇyiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS ŚB *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau*

VS TS MS KS ŚB Proper names, and so naturally flexible

samsṛṣṭam ubhayaṁ kṛtam (KŚ *abhayam kratum*) KS TB ApŚ KŚ.

indra kratvā (MS *indrakṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV MS KS The MS, which is certainly secondary and poor in *indrakṛ*, reads the

gerund *kṛtvā* for *kratvā* by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness

mainā arvā renukā{*ah prnak* (MS † [v l *prnak*] KS *pranak*) MS. KS

TB *pra-nak*, from *naś*, 'attain', with *pra*; *prnak* from *pre*

indrāya tvā sṛmo 'dadāt' (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB See §277

§665. The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague.

drapsaś caskunda pṛthivīm anu dyām (RV *prathamān anu dyūn*) RV.

AV VS TS MS. KS ŚB Vague assonance only

tam tvam viśvebhya devebhyaḥ kratūn (KS °*bhya ṛtūn*) *kalpaya* KS ApŚ

sā (read *sa?*) *naḥ prajāṃ paśūn pāhy aranīyamānaḥ* (p p *ahāḥ, ānī,*

yāmānaḥ) MS . *sa no rucam dhehy ahṛnīyamānaḥ* TA The MS

is hopelessly corrupt, probably read *ahṛnīyamānaḥ*

atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (KS *bhadrā vṛṣanā agrbhnām*) RV VS TS KS.

idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena ApŚ MŚ : *idawāsmān* (RVKh *ilawa vām*) *anu vastām vṛatena* RVKh AV Scheftelowitz reads *ghṛtena* in RVKh

idam aham sarpānām . . grathnāmi (MŚ *mss kṛtsnāmi*) TS ApŚ MŚ. See §47, MŚ perhaps corruption for *grath*°

nadayor vṛatayoh śūra indrah RV *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV See §828

viśvair devai rātībhiḥ samraraṇaḥ (MG *devair ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ*) ApMB MG.

āvīte dyāvōpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS KS *āvinne dyāvōpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS TB. In this and the next, TS has interchanged the two old adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh* and *dhṛtavrata* (both RV)

āvītāu (TS *āvinnaū*) *mitrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS °*nāv ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Cf prec

10 *r* and *ri*, *ṛ*

§666. Since *r* and *ri* have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of *r* to *ri* (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indic dialects) On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp 31 ff It is a well-known fact that Hindu mss, including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,

we call attention to Whitney's note on AV. 5 14 3, apropos of the *pāda-rīśasyeva pariśāsam*. So the Berlin ed prints it. But Whitney informs us that most mss read *rīśasyeva*, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text; we agree with him. Against most mss, but with some of them and with the comm, Whitney, would also read *rīśyapadīm vṛṣadatīm* in AV. 1 18 4a, where both editions have *rīśya*°.

§667. These AV cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS, which presents *trīṣu* for *trṣu* (adverb 'eagerly', from root *trṣ*) and *tvaṣṭri* for the god-name *tvaṣṭr*. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss, despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrāyaṇīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word:

trṣu (MS *trīṣu*) *yad annā vevīṣad vitiṣṭhase* RV SV. MS ApŚ

trṣucyavaso (MS *trīṣu*°) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS

tvaṣṭrimantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ. *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS

ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ Others, see §641

§668. Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written *kṛmī*, altho its original form seems to have been *kṛm* (Wackernagel I p 33, Uhlenbeck, *Etym Wbch*, s v) Several variants show both forms of this common word:

hataś te atrinā kṛmih (GG *kṛ*°) SMB. GG *atrinā tvā krime hanmī* TA

ApŚ *atṛwad vah kṛmayo hanmī* AV.

halāḥ kṛmayah (but Jørgensen text and comm *kṛ*°) *sāsātikāḥ sanīla-makṣikāḥ* SMB · *āsātikāḥ kṛmaya* (but Poona ed. *kṛi*°, v. 1 *kṛ*°)

va TA Note that different editions differ on both texts!

nīlamgoḥ (MS °*gave*) *kṛmih* (TS *kṛi*°) VS. TS MS KSA.

§669. So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had *r*, not *ri*. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism, or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce *r* and *ri* in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of *r* as *ri* is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some

sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially

§670. Take for instance the proper name *Trīta*, which is quite definitely established in that form as prehistoric (Avestan *Thrita*) Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV (6 113 1 and 3) it is spelled *Trīta*, according to all mss known to both editions In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form *Trīta* In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss
trīta enam (read *enan*, TB *trīta elan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* (TB *mā°*)
 AV TB

trīte (TB *trīte*) *devā amṛtataṇḍa enam* AV TB

§671 There is little doubt that the MS form *āpapṛvān*, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his *Roots*, is simply a phonetic variant for *āpapṛvān* (perfect active participle to *prā*) instead of an independent participle of *pr*, as Whitney questioningly suggests The MS p p has °*pri*°

āpapṛvān (MS *āpapṛvān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

§672. The verb *sṛdhah* makes it clear that *sṛdh* is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant In fact many AV mss read *sṛdhah*, which Whitney regards as the true AV reading
atī niho atī sṛdhah (AV MS *sṛdhah*) AV VS TS MS KS

§673. In the next *krīm* is the only form known to RV, and so may perhaps be assumed as the original, both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown

ā va indram krīm (SV *Svidh krīm*) *yathā* RV. SV ŚŚ *Svidh*
adha tvīṣmān abhy ojasā krīm (SV *krīm*, v 1 *krīm*) *yudhābhavat*
 RV SV

§674. According to Wackernagel I §180b, *r* was regularly replaced by *ri* before *y*, by phonetic law, when *r* appears before *y*, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy In the second variant the original (AV) reading was pronounced *pitṛyāc*, and for this TA *pitṛyāc* is merely a phonetic variant, with *r* for proper *ri*
vayam rāṣtre jāgryāma (MS † KS † °*mā*, TS and p p of MS *jāgryāma*)
purohitāh VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

dyaus nah pitā pitṛyāc (TA *pitṛyāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA *bhavāsi*) AV TA

Cf the next where the RVKh reading is doubtful.

āvyaṣam jāgrtād aham AV *āvyaṣam jāgryād aham* RVKh Aufrecht:

but Scheftelowitz *avyuṣam jāgryām* (em, for ms °yāmy) *aham*
Cf VVI p. 102.

§675. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning, presumably MS is secondary
vikṛīda (KS °da, VS °dra, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS.

§676. Finally a few corruptions and false readings
ya rie (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad rie*, PB *ṛyakṣate*) *cīd abhiṣṛiṣaḥ* RV AV
SV PB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś GG ApMB *jarī celid* (mss
celid, p p *cya itī it*) *abhiṣṛiṣaḥ* MS (grossly corrupt, cf §193)
sam tvā rinanti (Vait *rinanti*) LŚ KŚ Vait Note the anomalous sandhi
in Vait, *sam-r* and *sam-ri* would be virtual synonyms, but a 9th
class present from *r* is 'anomalous (allowed by the Dhātup, but not
known in literature according to Whitney's *Roots*). The Vait
reading is therefore doubly suspicious See §992

[*īmau te pakṣāv* (°sā) *ajarāu patatrīmau* (VSK TS KS °nah, Conc
wrongly quotes TS as *patatrīnah*) VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB

§677. Twice *r* varies with *rī*, both forms are morphologically justifiable in both cases

śṛtas tvam śṛto 'ham ApŚ *śṛtas tvam śṛto* 'ham KS Participles of
the root which appears somewhat confusedly as *śṛ*, *śrā*, *śrī* 'cook,
mature'

adbhṛ viśvasya bhartṛbhiḥ ApMB *adbhṛ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG
In ApMB a distinctively feminine stem *bhartṛī* is used, to agree
with *adbhṛ*, ŚG uses the stem *bhartṛ* as of common gender

11 *r* and *ru*

§678. The shift between *r* and *ru* is only slightly less frequent than
that between *r* and *ri*. There is equally good reason to regard it as
having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāṭhī the *r*
of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an *u* coloring (practically *ru*,
instead of *ri* as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very
ancient is proved by RPr 14 12 (796), which states that some erroneously
'make the *r*-vowels like the labial vowels' (*svarau kurvanti*
oṣṭhyanibhau sarephau). There are, to be sure, not so many variants
that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case
with *r* and *ri*. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial
consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic *r* in
conjunction with labials was apt to have *u* coloring

§679. Among the clearest phonetic variants are

bhṛmim (TB. *bhṛumim*) *dhamanto apa gū avṛnata* RV TB Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants The original *bhṛmi* is not very clear, one of Sāyana's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to *bhṛumi* by TB comm, who derives it from root *bhram*

dṛvāsi VS. *dṛbāsi* KŚ *drubāsi* VSK An obscure word, note the following *b* There is no way of determining the original form

§680. A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic *r* for original *ru* is the stem *prṣvā*, found several times in Tait texts for regular *pruṣvā*, note the preceding *p* BR call *prṣvā* a 'false Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA comm explains by *jalaṇduh* It seems clear that it was the established Tait school form of *pruṣvā*, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters, see e.g. Keith on TS 7 4 13 1

pruṣvā aśrubhā VS MS *aśrubhā prṣvām* (TS *prṣ*) TS KSA
pruṣvābhyah (TS *prṣ*°, KSA ed *pruṣvābhyas*, ms *pruṣvā*°, read probably *pruṣvā*°) *svāhā* VS TS KSA

śam u prṣthāva (read with Poona ed text and comm *prṣvāva*) *śiyatām* TA *śam te prṣvāva śiyatām* AV

§681. Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the *r* in the following cases; we do not venture to say whether the following labial *bh* (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change At least the *r* form seems quite well established in the Tait school, the MS is more seriously corrupt *purā jatrubhya* (TA ApMB *jatrbhya*, MS *cakrbhyā*, p p *vakrbhyah*!) *ātṛdah* (MS °*da*) RV AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB

§682 The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange Thus, the roots *sr* and *śru* are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives *sṛti* and *śruti* both mean 'course, way' *dve śruti* (VS KS ŚB BrhU KŚ *sṛti*, and so TB Conc, but Poona ed *śruti*) *aśṛnavam pūrṇām* RV VS MS KS ŚB TB BrhU ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ. (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS 38 2 to *śruti*)

namah śrutyāya (KS *sṛt*°) *ca pathyāya ca* VS TS KS *namah pathyāya ca śrutyāya ca* MS Derivatives of the words concerned in the prec *ā tvā parīśrutah* (AG °*śrutah*, MG °*sṛtah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °*āh*) AG PG ApMB MG *enam parīśrutah kumbhyā* ŚG *emām parīśrutah kumbhah* AV *pūrṇān parīśrutah kumbhān* ŚB No form *parīśṛt* is otherwise recorded, despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG (all mss) has a phonetic variant or corruption for *parīśrutah*

hiranyam asṛtam (SB BrhU. GP *asṛtam*) *bhava* ŚB. BrhU KBU
AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG Here *sru* varies with *str*;
'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold)

Cf *mṛgasya sṛtam* (HG *ṣṛtam*, ApMB vv. 11 *sṛtam*, *ṣṛtam*) *akṣṇayā*
ApMB HG See §278

§683. Similarly *hr* with *vi* becomes a synonym of *hru* with *vi*, the
participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or
the like A third variation between *hr* and *hru* is merely a textual
corruption

avinaṣṭān avihrutān (AŚ °*hṛtān*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ ŚG

iṣkartā vihrutam punah RV KŚ · *niṣkartā* (Conc wrongly °*kṛtā* for
ApMB) *vihrutam* (PB TA ApMB *vihrutam*) *punah* AV. SV. MS
PB TA ApMB In TA there is a *v* 1 *vihrutam*, adopted in the
text in Poona ed, but the comm even there reads *vihrutam*, and
glosses *viśeṣena bhagnam*

aślonā (comm *aśronāh*) *aṅgair ahrutāh svarge* AV. *aślonāṅgair ahrutā*
svarge TA But Poona ed text and comm *ahrutāh*, v. 1 °*tā*,
for TA, and this is the only possible reading. The simple *hr* is
not a synonym of *hru*, *ahrta* would make no sense, comm *kauṣṭh-*
yarahitāh (= *ahrutāh*).

§684. Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious.

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *ṛvadbhyo 'lṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaṁ* RV MS KB
TB The original has *ruvad dha-ukṣā* 'the bull roared' This is
misunderstood and corrupted in TB

śivā rulasya (VSK *śiva ṛtasya*, TS and v 1 of MS *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī*
(MS °*jā*) VS VSK TS MS KS. Original is certainly *rulasya*.
'healer of what is injured' *Rudrasya*, 'Rudra's healer', is an
obvious lect fac, and *ṛtasya*, 'healer of the rta' or 'the rta's healer',
while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by
the phonetic relations between *r* and *ru*

satyaṇṇasā dṛṇhanā (MS *durhṛnā*, KS *†dṛhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS
MS KS.. *sacetasau dṛuhvano yau nudethe* AV Multiple con-
fusion, see §305, etc

mayobhūh śamtamā yad dhrudo (comm *dhṛdo*) 'sī TB So Conc, but
Poona ed text with comm *dhṛdo*.

CHAPTER XV. THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SAMPRASĀRANA

§685. In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift. That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography. They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants. Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor. This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, *e ai* and *o au*, and the interchange between *e* and *aya*, *o* and *ava*, and the like. Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (tho purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times.

1 *e · e*

§686. The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems, with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives.

atra (ŚB *atrā*) *jahāmo* 'śivā *ye asan* VS ŚB *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahāta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV **aśvāh*, **asan durevāh*) RV AV. TA. The meter properly requires *aśevāh* if the word be final (VS ŚB trans-
pose)

yā sarasvatī viśobhagīnā (MS ApŚ **veśa*°, KS *veśabhaginī*) . . . MS KS
ApŚ *viśo-* is gen. sing. of *viś*

dīvyah kośah samukṣītah MS *dāvyah kośah* (AV ŚirasU. *devakośah*)
samubhytah AV TS KS ŚirasU

dīvo jyōte (KS **jyōtir*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS KS
vivasvān adītir devajūtis TS

devya (ApŚ *dīvyā*, v 1 *devyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* . . . PB KŚ ApŚ

sūryo dīvo (TS KS * *devo*) *diviṣadbhyah* (TS KS. °*bhyo*...) TS. KS * MŚ

punse putrāya veltarai (ŚB BṛhU *vittaye*) ŚB TB BṛhU ApMB ApŚ HG.

pra suvānāso (SV. *svā*°) *brhaddiveṣu* (SV. °*deveṣu*) *harayah* RV SV.

lelah salelah .. TS *salilah saligah* . MS KS See §49

§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb *tredhā*, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like **trayadhā* (cf. §§744 ff below, Wackernagel I p. 53, III p. 347).

tridhā (MS *tredhā*) *baddho vṛṣabho roraviti* RV VS MS KS GB TA ApŚ. MahānU. N

§688. In the stem-syllable of verbal forms

maiṣām uc cheṣi kim cana AV : *maiṣām kam canoc chiṣah* TS TB ApŚ . *māmīṣām kam canoc chiṣah* RV. SV VS.

yah prānato nīmiṣataḥ (v 1 KS *nīmeṣ*°) *ca rājā* MS KS *yah prānato nīmiṣato* (VS. *nīmeṣ*°) *mahitvā* RV. AV VS TS KSA Present participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of *ni-miṣ*, the 1st class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded Add to VV I §197.

vāmī te samdṛṣi viśvam reto dhiṣṭiya (MS *dhe*°) .. MS KS . *viśvasya te vāmīr anu samdṛṣi viśvā retānsi dhiṣṭiya* TS Cf next The form *dheṣṭiya* seems to be established in the Maitr school It can hardly be interpreted except as an aorist of *dhā* 'place', yet is highly anomalous if so understood (as if the root were *dhi*, with guna *dhe*! perhaps by confusion with root *dhī*?) See VV I p. 186

somasyaḥam devayajyayā suretā (MŚ *viśvam*) *reto dhiṣṭiya* (MŚ *dhe*°) TS ApŚ MŚ

§689. In inflectional endings of verbs *i* and *e* exchange very commonly as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere See VV I §§39-79 and 82 *et pāssim*.

§690. Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of dat-
abl plur forms in *ibhyas* *ebhyas*, from stems in *i(n)* *a*
dwācarebhyo (MG. °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* (sc *namah*) MG. ViDh .
ahaścārebhyah (sc *namah*) ŚG

naktamcarebhyah ŚG ViDh : *naktamcāribhyo bhūtebhyah* MG

marudbhyo grhamedhūbhyo (MŚ °*dhebhyo*) *nubrahū* ŚB. MŚ

marudbhyo grhamedhūbhyo (MS °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ *baṣkān*) VS MS ApŚ

svāheṣṭibhyah (Kauś °*iḥebhyah svāhā*) KS Kauś *iṣṭebhyah svāhā vaṣad anīṣṭebhyah svāhā* TB ApŚ

§691. The others are miscellaneous case-forms, since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists

pūṣne śarase (MS † °si) *svāhā* MS TA ApŚ . *svāhā pūṣne śarase* VS.

ŚB KŚ The majority reading (dat) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms.); but the loc of MS is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage

hiranyapakṣaḥ śakunih HG *hiranyaparna śakune* PG. Nom : voc
pra vo mahe mahiṛdhe (SV PB *maheṛdhe*) *bharadhvam* RV SV AV.

PB AŚ ŚŚ The SV seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form *mahe* preceding)

vi śloka etu (AV. *etu*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)
sūreh (AV MS.† *sūrah*, TS ŚvetU *sūrah*, KS † *sūrah*) RV. AV VS
TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU Nom gen.

agnir hotā vetu agnir (AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu* (*vettu*) . TB. AŚ ŚŚ :
agnir hotā vetu agner hotram vetu . ŚB Nom gen.

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV : *kratve vare sthemany āmurim*
uta SV

§692. Oddities of noun stems

agner agneyāny (KS *agni°*) *asī* (MS v. 1 and p p *agner agner yāny asī*)

MS KS *devānām agneyāny asī* TS *agner yāny asī* TS MS. KS
ApŚ MŚ See §357, and cf *vāyosāvitra* ., §716

śrudhi śruta śraddhivam (AV *śraddheyam*) *te vadāmi* RV AV See
§248, both forms have the force of gerundives

§693. The remaining variants are lexical, but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688

sa idhāno (KS *edh°*) *vasuḥ* (MS *vasuh*) *kaviḥ* RV SV. VS TS MS KS

The roots *idh* and *edh* are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guna

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ °ṣv ā, MS *janiṣva*) MS
AB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ The MS form could be interpreted as a 2d
sing impv from *jan* but for the accent (*jāniṣva*), which seems to
call for emendation

ino (AV *enā*) *viśvasya bhūwanasya gopāh* RV. AV N *ino*, nom of stem
ina, *enā*, adverbial pronominal form.

ulem (SV *ūlim*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV AV SV MS *uta-īm* acc sing
of *ūti*

kṛdī ca śākī corjṣē (ApŚ *sālī †corjṣē ca*) VS VSK ApŚ See §407.

āsannuṣṭūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn RV. AV. TS MS. KSA. N : *āsann eṣām apsuṣvāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820

[*vācā mendriyāvīṣa* TS. KS MŚ. Conc. *vācam indr°* for KS., so ed. reads at 4 14, but at 31. 15 (p 18, n 1) it is corrected]

§694. Several times a word beginning in *i* varies with the same word preceded by *ā*:

indram (SV. *endram*) *agnim ca vodhave* RV SV

iha (MS AŚ ŚŚ *eha*) *gatir vāmasya* TS MS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ †1 14 19
tve iṣah (KS. *viṣve*; MS. *tva eṣah*) *samdadhur bhūrvarpasah* (TS † *bhūrv-
retasah*) RV. SV VS TS MS KS ŚB See Von Schroeder's
note If correct, MS must intend *tve, ā, iṣah*, but the p p reads
tve iti tve, iṣah.

tāv (tā) ehi (eha, eva, AV. iha) . . , see §§578, 888

ṛnān no narnam ertsamānāh AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānāh* TA
See §180

ādityānām patvānv (PB °*mānv*) *ihī* (KSA †*ehī*) VS. TS. MS KSA PB
ŚB TB MŚ ApMB.

2 ī: e

§695. Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives. Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different.

viśo yantrē (KS *yantri*) *nudamāne arātīm* KS TB ApŚ Duals from
stems *yantrā* and *yantri*

śamgayī (MS. ŚB °*gavī*, TB °*gaye*) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīva°*) MS ŚB TB.
AŚ ŚŚ. Also feminine duals.

vairājī (KSA † °*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA †) TS KSA. Also fem duals;
there seems no reason to emend KSA as von Schroeder would do.
rātri (TB. °*rī*, KS v l °*rih*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °*ṣī*) RV. KS.
TB

mahī viśpatnī sadane (KS °*nī*) *ṛtasya* KS. TB ApŚ MŚ Here *sadane*
is loc sing. '(come) to the seat of the *ṛta*' KS makes *sadanī*
fem dual, 'as two seats of the *ṛta*' (addressed to the *aratis*), the
other reading is simpler and most likely original

varṣānarāya matir navyasī (ArS °*se*) *śucih* RV ArS Nom. sing fem.
dat sing masc (with *agnaye* in next pāda).

nābhā samdāyṇ navyasī (SV. °*dāya navyase*) RV SV. As prec.

rāyas poṣam cakituṣe (AV °*ṣī*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ *dadātu*) AV. TS MS KS ŚŚ
As prec

lālāya (MahānU *lāle*°) *dhīmahn* TAA † (not TA.) MahānU. Names of Agni, of unknown origin. Hardly to be classed as ablaut. The two comms have different and equally ridiculous explanations. *aṣādhāya sahamānāya vedhase* (TB. *mīdhuṣe*) RV. TB. N. Lexical

In the reduplicating syllable

aṇdrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nī dīdhyat (TS *nī dedhyat*, VSK *nīdhītah*) VS. VSK TS MS KS ŚB. The reduplicating syllable with *e* should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS is felt as such, cf. VV I pp. 149, 160

§697. Cases concerning verb inflection. An aor. ind. varies with a present opt. But the KS ed. reads as ApŚ, with *v* 1 as Conc.. *grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*). KS ApŚ VV I p. 86

anu stomam mudīmahi (PB *made*°) RV AV PB. Optatives of different verbs

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS °*yīd*, KSA. °*yed*, MS *dhanayīd*) . . . RV VS. TS. MS KSA

§698. Twice the presence or absence of the preposition *ā* is responsible for the variant, cf. §694.

vāmam pīrbhyo ya idam samerire (AV *samī*°) RV. AV. ApMB.

ṛnān no narnam ertsamānah AV *nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah* MS.

See §180

3 2. *ai*

§699. Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the *vriddhi*

vaīśvānara uta viśvadāvyah AV KS : *yo vaīśvānara uta īviśvadāvyah* (ApŚ *vaīśvadevyah*) MS ApŚ. Whitney's Transl. adopts for AV *viśvadavyah*, which he states is the reading of Ppp, but this is an error, Ppp (Barret, JAOS 32 358) has °*davyah*, intending °*dāvyah*. Only ApŚ has a derivative of *viśvadeva*.

davyah kośah samukṣitah MS. *daivyah kośah* (AV ŚirasU *devakośah*) *samubjitah* AV TS KS ŚirasU.

achunno divyas (KS ApŚ *davyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaś* (KS ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS KS ApŚ

bṛhanto davāh (VS *dvyāh*) VS MS ApŚ

nṛbādhyena (AV *nair*°, Ppp *nir*° according to Whitney) *haviṣā* AV TB ApŚ

bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena triṣṭubhyā (KS *triṣṭubhā*) *varitanyā* . . . MS KS : *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho varitanyā* TS.

aghorena cakṣuṣā mitriyena (ApMB. *maitreṇa*, KS ApŚ. *cal-ṣuṣāham* *śivena*) AV KS ApŚ ApMB

indrasya vimṛdhasyāham (KS *indrasyāham vimṛdhasya*) *devayajyayā-sapatno* (ApŚ. but not †MŚ adds *vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* KS ApŚ MŚ

lapota (MS °tā) *ulūlak śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS. KSA. *nairṛtāh*) VS TS MS KSA.

nirṛtyai svāhā MŚ : *nairṛtyai* (sc *dīśe*) *svāhā* VāDh

vihāyaso (PG. *vaiḥ*°) 'dhi *bhūmyām* HG. PG *vi*°, abl of *vihāyas*, *vai*°, nom of adj *vaihāyasa*.

indrasya śuśmam īrayann apasyubhūh RV. SV.: *aindraḥ śuśmo viśvarūpo na āgan* AV.

vaivasvato (AV *vivasvān*) *no abhayam kṛnotu* Aṽ. TB TAA ŚŚ ApŚ SMB. PG HG *va*°, of course, means *Manu*

havyanyābhah (ŚŚ. *hr*°) *lausatyah* ŚB ŚŚ

indropānasyakehamanaso (MŚ *aandro*°) . ApŚ MŚ The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ to *indro*°, while tempting, is hardly safe

§700. Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection

indrādhīpatih (MS KS °patyah) *pīptād ato nah* TS MS KS AŚ 'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc

tam (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °yi) TS MS TA The form in *yai* is dat of stem *śobhā*, 'unto splendor' The *yi* form would seem to be acc neut. of a stem *śobhāyin* (cf §247), perhaps used adverbially

Two concerning aorist verb forms

āpo malam va prānākṣīt (ApŚ *prānījan*) AV ApŚ See VV I p 129

pītur va nāmāgrabhīṣam (ApMB °bhāṣam) ApMB HG See VV I pp 139, 186

And one in which *ai* contains the augment

yam aichāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ

4 ī ai

§701. Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr plur. and nom-acc plur (fem) forms.

indrena devīr (MŚ *devair*) *vīrudhak samvidānāh* TS MŚ

devīr devīr (ApŚ *devair*) *abhi mā nīvartadhvam* MS ApŚ MŚ

sapta ca vārunīr (PG °nair) *imāh* AG PG ŚG MG *sapta ca mānuṣīr* *imāh* ApMB HG Followed in all by

tisraś ca rājabandhavāḥ (HG °varh) HG ApMB *prajāḥ* (this word belongs to prec pāda) *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavarh* (MG °vyah) PG. MG *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavāḥ* (ŚG † °bāndhavarh) AG ŚG
ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair (ApMB °śīr, MG °śam) *aguh* (AG ApMB *ayan*, ŚG. *gaman*, PG *upa*, HG *ayann iva*, MG *airayam*) AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG MG

§702. There are three cases of vriddhi of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous, and one aorist verb form, also anomalous

straiśūyam anyatra dadhat AV. *strīśūyam anyān sv* (read *anyāsv*) *ā dadhat* ŚG

madhvā yajñam nakṣatḥ (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prai°*) AV VS. TS MS. KS In the pres mid pple the vriddhi is quite out of place, 'blundering corruption', Whitney

yad adīvyann (MS *daivyam*) *ṛnam aham babhūva* (AV. *kṛnomi*) AV. MS. TA BDh *adīvyann ṛnam yad aham cakāra* TB The original is *adīvyan* 'not gambling', MS has a stupid lect fac Add to VV I §231

indra enam (TB ApŚ *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV TB ApŚ cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśarāt* AV. But for the last SPP. with most mss and Ppp. °sarīt, the regular form See VV I p 186

5 e: ai

§703. Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of *ai* to *e* must be largely concerned in them They are fairly numerous, the great majority fall into three classes, to wit: dative (or locative) forms in *e ai*, forms with *e ai* in the root syllable, in which *ai* is generally the vriddhi of secondary derivation, and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings

§704. First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms *asme* (dat or loc) 'for, to, in us', and *asmai* 'for him, it'. *asmai* (TB *asme*) *dyāṁprthuvī bhūri vāmam* (Conc divides AV before *vāmam*) AV TB *asme* is secondary

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS ApŚ : *śrad asmai naro vacase dadhā'ana* VS KŚ Keith assumes that TS intends *asmai*

asmai (MS *asme*) *rāstrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS. MS AŚ *asmai* is certainly simpler

supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāśme (AV *kartam asmai*, VSK *kartam asme*) AV VS VSK MS 'For him' 'for us', equally possible

savitṛā prasavitṛā . *īndrenāśme* (VSK °*smāi*) . VS VSK As prec
asme (AV. *asmai*) *dhārayatam* (MŚ °*tām*) *rayim* RV AV. MŚ Differ-
ent contexts, both possible

asme (AV. *asmai*) *dhatta vasavo vasūni* AV VS TS MS KS SB N
Equally possible

asme (KBU *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann rjīṣin* RV KBU AG PG N
asme *rāṣṭrāni dhārāya* (KS *rāṣṭram adhīśraya*) MS KS asme *kṣatrāni*
dhārāyer anu dyūn RV TS MS KS *asmīn rāṣṭram adhī śraya*
TS · *asmai kṣatrāni dhārāyantam agne* AV. Kauś Different
contexts

asmai (MS asme) *karmāne jātah* MS ApŚ 'For our rite' 'for this
rite'. Probably lect fac in ApŚ

asme (AŚ *asmai*) *īndrābṛhaspatī* RV. TS MS KS AŚ Probably
misprint in AŚ.

§705. Other dative forms in *e* *ai*, including infinitives

tā (VS ŚB *yā*, TS *te*) *te* (RV KS N *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS N
vāstūny) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS °*ye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N
The TS form is anomalous, cf Keith's note and Whitney, *Gram-*
mar §976a Infinitives

havyāyāsmāi vodhave (KS °*vai*) *jātavedah* TS MS KS Kauś Infini-
tives

sugam meṣāya meṣyai (RV °*ye*) RV VSK TS MS KS LŚ · *sukham*
meṣāya meṣyai VS ŚB

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ *iṣe rāye* . VS MS
ŚB TB Cf §396

ābhīṣ (vāham . . *sūtave* (HG °*vai*) HG ApMB

kuhvai (KSA *kuhve*, ed em °*vai*) *trayo 'runantāh* TS KSA

punse putrāya vettavai (ŚB BṛhU *vittaye*, KS *ṭkartave*, MG *kartavai*,
v l °*ve*) KS ŚB TB BṛhU. ApŚ ApMB HG MG

śakrāya sunavai (JB °*ve*) *tvā* RV JB

śriyai (MG *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG *vedhavai*) ApMB MG

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG

paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai PG *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG · cf *parīdam*
vāso adhithāh (HG °*dhāh*, ApMB *adhī dhā*) *svastaye* AV. ApMB
HG These forms are taken as datives by the PG comm, followed
by Stenzler and Oldenberg It is uncertain whether this is cor-
rect, or whether they are verb forms, see VV I p 112

§706. Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc sing
and instr pl) ·

ghṛtavatī savitar (MS KS °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS °*yath*) TS MS KS AŚ

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV. **vāraḥ*) *pari priyah* (and, *priyam*) RV SV.
punar brahmāno (*brahmā*) . . *yaṣṇāḥ* (*agne*), see §339

§707. When *e* and *ai* vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with *vṛddhi* varying with other related forms without *vṛddhi*.

davīm (VS *devīm*) *nāvam svaritṛām anāgasam* (AV. °*sah*) RV. AV. VS.
 TS MS KS

devīh (AV *daī°*) *ṣad urvīr uru nah* (TS ApMB *nah*, and so Whitney for AV with most mss) *kṛnōta* RV. AV. TS ApMB

davībhyas (KS. *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS °*yas*) *svāhā* KS TB. ApŚ.
 Kauś

bṛhaspatir devānām (ŚŚ *dawo*) *brahmāham manuṣyānām* (ŚŚ *mānuṣah*)
 VSK TB ŚŚ KS ApŚ MŚ

devān mā bhayād itī SMB *davān mā bhayāt pāhi* ŚŚ.

imā yā devīh pradīśas catasrah AV *yā dawīs catasrah pradīśah* TB.
 ApMB HG

saṁ devena savitrā TA : *saṁ daivena* (and, *dauyena*) *savitṛā* VS ŚB
davyah kośah samuḥṣitah MS · *dauvyah kośah* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakośah*)
samubṛjтах AV TS KS ŚirasU

vācā tvā hotṛā pañcabhir dauvyair (MŚ *devair*) *ṛtvigbhir uddharāmi*
 ApŚ MŚ

mā devānām (TA *dauvyas*) *tantuś chedī mā manuṣyānām* (TA *manuṣyah*) MS KS TA ŚŚ

indro jyēsthānām (MS KS *jyaīṣṭhyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaīṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS.
 MS KS ŚB PG

vaiśvānaram kṣatrapityāya (TB *kṣetra°*) *devāh* VS TB

somaindrā (KSA *ṣaumendrā*) *babhrulālāmās tūparāh* TS. KSA

adhvanām adhvapate śreṣṭhah svastyasyādhvanah (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhvanah*, MG *śraīṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanah*, read *svastyā°* with most mss) *pāram aśīya* AŚ ApMB MG

meghyā (VS. *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācah* VS TS MS KSA

§708. A couple of cases with *e* *ai* in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding, it is very questionable whether the *ai* form has secondary *vṛddhi* or is in any morphological way different from the form with *e*. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants

avārāya kevarīam VS *pāryāya kavīartam* TB. The usual form is *kai°*, evidently of non-Aryan origin, and it is, to say the least, very possible that *ke°* is a Prakritism

veśantābhyo dāśam TB *vaiśantābhyo bairdam* VS Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin, but this time the usual form is *ve*° Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS

§709. Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form *e*, where *a* seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final *a* (Wackernagel I §269c) The same phenomenon occurs with *o* for *au*, §731 Wackernagel, I c (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of *a*, *au* to *e*, *o*, besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the *e* form

adhī na indraīṣām (VS *indreṣām*) RV VS Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS is *indra-eṣām* This is the most certain case

neva mānse na pībasi AV *nawa mānsena pīvari* PG The AV p p reads *na*, *wa*, according to Barret JAOS 26 205, Ppp also reads *neva* (contrary to Whitney's note) Yet it is possible that AV really intended *nawa*, which certainly is a more natural reading *jagatyānam* (AŚ °*tyenam*) *vikṣv ā veṣayāmah* (MS KS °*m*, AŚ °*ni*) TS MS KS AŚ In VV I p 75 we have stigmatized *jagatyenam* as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh, to be sure the edition of AŚ inspires little confidence But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc *jagaty* instead of instr *jagatyā*)

enāhnedam ahar aṣṭya svāhā KS (prec by *-mānā*, actual text, *-mānā-nāhne*°) the MŚ version quoted in Conc as *idāhna id āharam aṣṭya* is Knauer's emend of corrupt mss which begin [*-mān*]-*enāhned*-, doubtless intending the same as KS

See also *anāmayaṛdhī* etc , §344

§710. In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in *e* vary with subjunctives in *a*, see VV I p 28

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ °*hai*, MŚ *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ PG

yam jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS °*he*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

devān yaçṛjyān iha yān yaçṛjāmahai (TS *havāmāhe*) TS MS KS

rayim yena vanāmahai (SV °*he*) RV SV

sacāvahe (MS °*hai*, p p °*he*) *yad avṛkam purā cit* RV MS

brahmāham antaram kṛṇve (KŚ. *karave*, read **vaz*) AV. KŚ. (? the proper subjunctive form would be **vaz*, **ve* either corruption or purely phonetic variant).

anu nau śūra mansate (TS. **tar*) RV TS. KSA.

yā na ūrū usāti viśrayāte (AV **ti*, ApMB. HG. *viśrayātai*) RV AV. ApMB HG

pari śvajāte (AV. **tar*) *libujeva vṛksam* RV AV. N'

pra yaj satrūcā (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB **tar*, text and comm. in Poona ed.) RV TB.

dadhad vidhaksyan paryāñkhayātai TA. *dadhrg vidhaksyan paryāñkhayāte* (AV. *vidhaksan parāñkhayātai*) RV. AV.

manai (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūnām aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N *yayā gā ākarāmahe* (SV. **hai*) RV. SV.

varuneti śapāmahe (MS † **hai*; AV. *yad ūcīma*, LŚ † *ayāmahe*) AV. VS. TS MS KS. ŚB. TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ.

§711. There are a few cases in which the *ai* is due to the preposition *ā* preceding *e*, cf. §§694, 698; or, in the first two cases, to the augment: *mṛtyoh padam* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV **ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV. *aīta*, TA. *aiṃa*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

vācaspate 'chudrayā . . . hotrām airayat (KŚ. **yant*, TA. *erayasya*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB TA. KŚ. ŚŚ Augmented forms in ŚB. KŚ.; the ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

ā te garbho yonim etu (AG. *aitu*) AG. ApMB. HG : *ā te yonim garbha etu* AV ŚG. *ā yonim garbha etu te* AV : *ā garbha yonim etu te* ApMB HG. The preceding *ā* proves AG. secondary *aīṣu* (AŚ *eṣu*) *dyumnam svar yamāi* AV AŚ. ŚŚ Perhaps misprint in AŚ, as Whitney on AV. suggests.

etat te agne rādha aīti (MS. KS. *eti*) *somacyutam* TS. MS KS.

grhān aīmi (LŚ. HG *emi*) . . AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

abhyaiḥ (SV. *abhyeti*) *na ojasā spardhamānā* RVKh. SV. VS

§712. Miscellaneous cases:

he 'lavo he 'lavo ŚB. : *haiḥ haiḥ* ŚBK. Interjections.

mā bheh VS. TS. ŚB. TB KŚ. ApŚ. *mā bhah* MS KS. MŚ. Aorist verb forms, see VV I p 129, and next.

mā bher mā . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB : *mā bhaur mā* . . . MS KS. See prec. *uṣṇeṇa vāya* (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (SMB. GG **nandhi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB GG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §122; and on the MG. form, VV I p 87.

uttamam nākam (VS. MS. KS. ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. **yavinam*, TA. **rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Pronouns *īmam*: *enam*

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharatām (MŚ °retām, AŚ. °bhavatām) TB
AŚ ApŚ MŚ. In TB ApŚ fusion of sambhara and etam, in the
others dual verb forms

śatruhanam amṣrahanam (KS *śatru° asī śatruhanam*) *bhrātṛvyahanam*
asurahanam tvandram (ApŚ text *tvendram*) *vāgram sādāyām*
KS ApŚ Here *tvendram*, if not a corruption or misprint, can
only be a phonetic reduction of *tvandram* (*tvā + andram*)

[*endram* (TB. *andram*, but comm and Poona ed text *endram*) *acucyavuh* TB ApŚ]

6 u o

- §713. The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and
quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with
ablaut in stem syllables, thus, in nouns and adjectives

namo vah pitarah śuṣmāya (VS ŚŚ *śoṣāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūṣāya*)

VS VSK TS MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG KhG See §720

matyaś śrutāya (*mahe śrotṛāya*) *cakṣase* AV (both)

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā stotrasya*
stotram gamyāt PB

duṣcyavanah pṛtanāśād (°śāl) *ayudhyah* (AV MS *ayodhyah*) RV AV

†19 13 7c, SV VS VSK TS MS KS Gerundives

deva gharma rucitas tvam deveṣv ā MS *rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣv*

aśī TA Causative and simple participles Cf next

rūcito gharmaḥ MS KB ŚB TA etc *rocito gharma rūcīya* TA Cf
prec

ānandā modāḥ pramudah AV.: *ānando modāḥ pramodāḥ* TB *modāḥ*
pramoda ānandah TB. *mudah pramuda āsate* RV Stems (pra)mud
and (pra)moda

drunā (SV *drone*) *sadhasṭham aśnuṣe* (and *āsadat*) RV SV Stems
dru and *drona*

714. With these may be grouped certain other cases which are
really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which
in their external form simulate ablaut relations

dyumnā śloktī (KS *śuklī*) *sa somyah* (TB *sau°*) RV AV SV MŚ KS TB

suśevam somapitsaru (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS TS MS KS ŚB VāDh

suśimam somasatsaru AV See §180

sumutrah soma no (Kauś *sumano*) *bhava* RV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ

Kauś An obvious lect fac in Kauś

§715. Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb. Variations
between *no* and *nu* as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class

presents have been collected in VV I p. 185, and need not be repeated. In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists

yan me mātā prakulubhe (ApMB HG *pralulobha*) ŚG ApMB. HG. MDh

sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. MŚ. Aorist and present, see VV I p. 82.

āditya (AV also *sūrya*) *nāvam āruḥṣah* (SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV SMB. See VV I p. 130

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avarityai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB

mā bher mā roṇ (VSK *mo rōṇ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS. *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS VSK TS ŚB : *mā bhair mā ruṇ mo ca* (KS. *rauṇ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS. See VV I p. 129.

mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīh (TS *śūsucāh*, KS *śucāh*, MS. *hinsīh*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB. See *ibid* p. 128

devasya (**syāham*) *sanituh* . . *ruheyam* (GB. *roh°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB. TB GB Vait MŚ ApŚ. LŚ. See *ibid* p. 132

sa yathā tvaṇ rucyā ruciṣṭya (MS *rociṣṭya*) AV MS. See VV I p. 186

On the following form see VV I p. 281, the MG form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for *tiṣṭhatu*.

antas tiṣṭhatu (MG *°to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuh* SMB. HG. MG.

§716. In several cases, the *o* pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in *u*, either as independent words or in composition.

vasuh (TS ApMB *vasoh*) *sūnuh sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS TS MS. KS ApMB. Nom and gen forms, the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc.)

dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoh (AV *°likah sasūnuh*) AV. VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. See §189

āyuskrte (ApŚ *āyoṣ°*) *svāhā* KS. ApŚ. Both 'maker of life'.

vāyosāntra (TS p p *°trah*, MS *vāyusāntribhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruh* (MS *payah*) TS MS KSA TPr 6. 8 explains *vāyo°* by *vāyusāntribhyām*, it is a secondary adj. in suffix *a*, and evidently the *o* is due to influence of the genitive form *vāyos*, cf *agner agneyāny* etc., §692

uror ā no (VS ŚB LŚ *pururāvno*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS TS MS KS. ŚB TB LŚ. See §371a

madhu reto (TS *madhor ato*, KS † *madhur ato*) *mādhavaḥ pātv asmān* TS MS KS AŚ. See §837

§717 The stem *puru* in composition varies with *puro*, for *puras*, cf below, §721

samdhātā samdhum (MS °*dhur*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA ApMB MS p p *puro*°, MS text *puru*°) RV. AV SV MS PB TA KŚ ApMB *puru viśvāni jūrvaṇ* RV *puro rakṣānsi nījūrvaṇ* AV

§718. Twice the *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf §§694, 698, 711

obhe prnāsi (TS *ubhe prnalṣi*) *rodasī* RV TS MS . *prnalṣi rodasī ubhe* RV SV VS KS ŚB

ā yā dyām (MS *divam*) *bhāsy ā prthivīm orv* (KS *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§719. The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant *sajūr devair vayoṇādhah* (MS MŚ *vayu*°) VS TS MS KS. ŚB MŚ *vayunā-dha* is certainly a compound of *vayuna*, *vayo*° is ordinarily taken as a cpd of *vayas* with a derivative of *nah*, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on *vayuna-* with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy

ye devā manojātā (MS KS MŚ *manu*°) *manoyujah* (KS *manu*°, VīDh *manuyujah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB BDh VīDh ApŚ Stems *manas* and *manu*

agnir havyānumanyatām (MŚ *havyā no man*°) TB ApŚ MŚ

pra nu (TA. ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no* with all mss but one, and the two paddhatis, but probably read *nu*) *vocam cikītuṣe janāya* RV TA SMB Kauś GG ApMB HG MG

pra nu vocam (ArŚ *no vaco*) *vidathā jātavedasah* (ArŚ °*se*) RV ArŚ *yas te stanah śaśayo* (AV ° *yur*) *yo mayobhūh* RV AV VS MS AB ŚB TA BrhU AŚ Equivalent stems, *śaśaya* °*yu*

yā coditā yā ca noditā (TA *yā cānuditā*) MS TA *na-uditā an-uditā yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt* SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG See §801

agnaye tvā mahyam . *āyur* (MS *mayo*) *dātra* VS VSK MS ŚB ŚŚ Near-synonyms

rudrānām urvyāyām (ApŚ *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ *omyāyām*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ See §228

śidanto vanuṣo yathā RV SV LŚ . *śidantu manuṣo yathā* RV See §227 *karma kṛvantu* (MŚ °*to*) *mānuṣāh* AV MŚ The MŚ form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb. It is really a phonetic variation

[*ato* (TB *tato*) *no rudrā uta vā* †*nv* (Cone *no*, TB *nw*, Poona ed 'nu, comm *anu*) *aṣṭa* RV TB]

7 ū o

§720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut, but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as *jyotis* and *jūti*, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects *u* is a phonetic shortening of *o*, implying that the relation of *o* to *u* is not far from the same as that of *ū* to *u* (cf. Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Sprachen* §84).

abhi tyam devam savitāram onyoh (TS *ūnyoh*) *kavikratum* AV SV VS TS MS KS KB AB ŚB AdB AŚ ŚŚ. The isolated TS stem *ūni* must mean the same as the regular *oni*.

namo vah pitarah śuśmāya (VS ŚŚ *śośāya*, SMB GG KhG *śūśāya*) VS VSK TS MS KS T. AŚ. ŚŚ SMB GG KhG. Comm on SMB *śūśa rti balanāma*.

saṃ pūṣā (ApŚ. adds *saṃ dhātā*, MS.* *poṣā*) *saṃ brhaspatih* (KS *dhātā*) AV MS (bis) KS ApŚ. *poṣā* is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of guna forms of root *puṣ*. The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brāhmaṇa passage immediately following its quotation with *poṣā*, and in the Brāhmaṇa *pūṣā* is read Cf. next.

api (PG. *iha*) *pūṣā n śīdatu* (AV ŚŚ **ti*) AV ŚŚ (bis) LŚ SMB PG HG *rāyas poṣo n śīdatu* ApMB ApŚ. Cf. prec.; *rāyas poṣo* is here evidently secondary, but sensible.

kukūnanānām (KS *kūlanānām*, MS *pūtanānām*) *tvā*. VS MS KS ŚB *lotanāsu* TS. Wholly obscure words.

yamasya pātūrah (KSA *pālo*°) TS KSA. *yamyai pātūrah* TS *yamyāh pātūrah* KSA. Uncertain part of the horse's body.

aṅgośinam (RV *āṅgūśānām*) *avāvaśanta vānīh* RV SV Cf. §490 and next.

aṅgośinam (RV *āṅgūśyam*) *pavamānam sakhāyah* RV SV Cf. prec.

mano jyotir (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtīr*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS TB Vait. *ājyam*, AŚ *ājyam me*) VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB TB AŚ Vait. LŚ. KS ApŚ MŚ. Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms.

dīvo jyote (KS **ti*) *vivasva* (MS *devajūte vivasvann*) MS KS. *vivasvān aditir devajūtis* TS.

§721. The stem *purū*, for *puru* in composition, varies with *puro* for *purās*, in the first variant quoted in §717, q v, and also in *tam sakhāyah purorucam* (SV *purū*°) RV SV.

§722. The *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §718 etc.:

yat kīm cānṛtam odīma (TA *ūdīma*) MS TA

yad vācānṛtam odīma (TB TA *ūdīma*) MS TB TA

devatrā haryam ūhiṣe (RV *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV. SV. TB. A complicated case, on which see *RVRep* 131 f, *VV I* p 237 f.

§723. The rest are miscellaneous

amo 'ham asmi sā (AB *sa*) *tvam* AV KS AB. ŚB BrhU. JUB AG ŚG Kauś PG MG *amūham asmi sā tvam* TB ApŚ ApMB HG : *sā* (AB *sa*) *tvam* *asy amo 'ham* (ŚB BrhU. PG. *aham*, ApMB *amūham*, MG *asy āpy amo 'ham*) KS AB JUB ŚB BrhU. AG ŚG PG. ApMB MG. *amo*, for *amas*, stem *ama*; *amūham*, peculiar sandhi connecting some form of stem *amu* (*amū?* *amus*, *amūs?*) and *aham*; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, p xxvii

aṅghrinā viṣṇo (KS *viṣṇū*, twice; ms once *viṣṇu*) *mā tvāra* (KS *vām ara*) *kramiṣam* VS KS ŚB : *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ara kramiṣam* TS TB ApŚ See Von Schroeder on KS 1 12 and Keith on TS 1 1 12 1 *viṣṇo*, voc sing; *-viṣṇū* in TS *devatādevandva*, in KS elliptic dual (note *vām* in KS.); but note also the phonetic resemblance between *aṅghrinā* and *agnā* of TS

tapūṣy (MS *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā palamgān* RV. VS TS MS. KS.

Different case forms of related stems *tapus* and *tapas*.

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāḥ* AB. AŚ *sa tū* (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārinc na pra yansat* RV. SV.

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB *yono vām hārasīḥ*) PB JB. LŚ Both forms obscure

8. *u* *au*

§724. Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the *u*-*au* of secondary derivation as regards their *au* forms; but one or two of them are strange forms. (For the sornst forms *ruk*, *rok*, *rau*, see §715, *mā bher* etc.)

suślokyāya (ApMB. *sau*°) *srastaye* ApMB. AG PG. MG.

māham pautram (KBU. *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG. *niyām*, read *niḡām*, with SMB *; SMB **niḡām*, **riṣam*) AG. SMB ApMB HG. KBU.

ulūkhālā (ApMB *au*°) *grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurrata*) ApMB HG. MG : *aulūkhālāḥ sampravadanti grāvāṇaḥ* SMB.

udbhinnam (ApŚ *audbhidyam*) *rājñah* MS ApŚ

āśir ṇa (*nā*, *ma*) *ūrjam ula suprajāstram* (AV. *sau*°) AV. TS MS. KS KŚ Whitney rightly calls the AV. form 'anomalous'.

kumbhīnasah (KSA *laum*°) *puṣkarasādo lohitaḥ te tvāṣṭrāḥ* TS. KSA.

Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the *vriddhi*, the meaning seems to be the same as that of the primary noun

vāce krauñcaḥ (VS *kruñcaḥ*) VS TS. MS KSA Again the two forms are apparently synonyms In this case the form with *vriddhi* is commoner, at least in the later language The origin and primary form of the word are unknown

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nuhkyātā BDh : *dyauh samā tasyāditya upadraṣṭā* . . HG See §833

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyarūchat (ŚG *vyuchat*) AV TS. MS KS TB.

ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB Augmented and augmentless forms.

vy uchā (and, *aucho*) *duhitā divah* RV SV (both in each). As prec.

9 ū au

§725. Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning *vriddhi* of secondary derivation

ṭandrasūrāḥ śyetalalāmās (KSA *ṭandrasaurāḥ ṭśyāmalalāmās*) *tūparāḥ* TS KSA

pausno (VSK *pūṣa*) *viṣpandamāne* (sc *mahāvīrah*) VS VSK.

svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā KS . *svarmūrdhā vaiyaśano vyāśyann* . . MS.

dhruvāya bhūmāya (PG *dhau*°) *svāhā* TA MahānU. PG.

ūrvaiḥ ŚŚ Vait *aurvaiḥ* LŚ With both sc *pitṛbhiḥ*

§726. There are several variants of the participles *dhūta* and *dhauta*, from roots *dhu* (*dhū*) and *dhāv* 'rinse', which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language

nṛbhīr dhūtaḥ (SV *dhautah*) *suto aśvaiḥ* RV SV.

nṛbhīr dhūto (SV. *dhauto*) *vicakṣanaḥ* RV SV.

apsu dhautasya (AŚ ŚŚ *dhū*°) TS MS KS PB AŚ ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

apsu dhūto (SV *dhautam*) *nṛbhiḥ sutah* (SV. *sutam*) RV. SV

§727. In one case the *au* is due to prefixing of the augment.

praty auhatām (MS 'āh°) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmāt*) AV. TS VS. MS. KS TAA.

10 o' au

§728. Here again the largest group concerns the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation

dyumnī śloki (KS *śukli*) *sa somyah* (TB *sau*°) RV AV SV MS KS TB

namo mauṇjyāyormyāya vasuvindāya GDh *namo mauṇjyāyaur-myāya* Svidh

yat somyasyāndhaso (ApMB *sau*°) *bubodhati* RV. ApMB.

juṣantām somyam (TB *sau*°) *madhu* VS MS TB.

somaindrā (KSA *†saumendrā*) *babhrulāmās tūparāh* TS KSA
somāpauṣṇāh (KSA *sau°*) *śyāmālāmās tūparāh* TS KSA
yadī somasyāsi rūjñāh somāt Kauś *yadī saumy asī somāt* AG
 Rvidh *yady asī saumī somāya* GG
caurasyānnam (TAA BDh *cor°*) *navāśrāddham* TAA MahānU VīDh.
 BDh

[*twam rauhinam* (AV misquoted *roh°* in Conc) *vyāsyah* AV ŚŚ]

§729. Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems

mā (VS ŚB add *vayam*) *rūyaspoṣena vī yauṣma* VS MS ŚB *māham*
rāy° vī yoṣam TS. KS TA ApŚ.

iharva ślam mā vī yauṣlam (ApMB *yoṣlam*) RV AV ApMB
mā bher mā etc, see §715

§730. Once the *au* form is due to prefixed *ā*, cf §722 etc
ā no (VS ŚB *mā*) *goṣu viśatv ā tanūṣu* (TS *auṣadhīṣu*, MS *oṣadhīṣu*)
 VS TS MS KS ŚB

§731. A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of *a* before *o* instead of fusion. These are parallel to the similar cases of *e* at, §709, q v

upayāmam adharenauṣṭhena (TS *°noṣṭhena*, KSA *adharoṣṭhena*) VS TS
 MS KSA See TPr 10 14

sahc ojah (VS *sahaujah*, VSK *sahojah*) VS VSK AB GB AŚ Vait
 Adverb *saha* plus *ojah* in VS VSK, the latter with irregular
sandhi, the other texts *sahas + ojah*

ya āvveṣoṣadhīr (MS *°lauṣadhīr*) *yo vanaspatīn* AV MS There is a
 v 1 *°auṣadhīr* in AV, which Whitney adopts in the text

[*sukurīrā svaupaśā* VS TS KS ŚB *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS But several
 mss and p p of MS *svaup°*, which should probably be read in the
 text The second part of the cpd is certainly *opaśā*, and the first
 probably *sva*, tho it is sometimes assumed to be *su*, doubtless this
 was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed *svopaśā* in MS]

§732. Miscellaneous

asihūrī nau (*nau*, *no*, *no*) etc, see §950 Dual and plural pronouns *nau*
 and *nō* (*nas*)

[*ye ke cobhayādātah* (TA *cau°*, Poona ed correctly *co°*) RV VS TA
ye ca ke cobhayādātah AV]

anupauhvaḍ (ApMB *anu po 'hvaḍ*) *anupahvayel* (ApMB *anuhvayah*)
 HG ApMB The ApMB surely means *po* for *vo*, comm says *p*
 is 'chāṇḍasa' for *v*, cf Winternitz, p xxi The HG seems to
 intend a form containing *upa*, but it is corrupt and obscure

devī dvārau (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samtāptam* TS AŚ Vait The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait is impossible

sūryo rūpam kṛnute dyor (MS *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV AV VS MS TB

Only a gen can be construed here On *dyauh* as abl-gen see Wackernagel, III p 224, *infra*

yaurādhi sūra udito vibhāhi (TS *udītau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS Others, §63

mā tvā nī kran pūrvacīto (AV °*cittā*, MS °*cittau*) *nikārinah* AV VS TS MS KS See §399

imau (Kauś *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS °*ṣā*) *ajarau palatrinau* (VSK TS † KS °*no*—so all texts, before following sonant) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB Kauś Nom dual gen sing

11 'Samprasārana', *i(ṛ)* *ya*, *yā*, and the like

§733. We have already referred in §§656 ff to the phenomena of so-called samprasārana as they concern *r* in variation with *ra*, *rā* Similar exchanges occur between *i* and *ya*, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as *yaṇ* *ij*, etc The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of *i* *yā* as a live factor in the language Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint

agne yat te tejasa tena tam prati titigdhī (KS *tityagdhi*, AV *tam atejasam kṛnu*) AV MS KS ApŚ For the 'adventurous' *tityagdhi*, from root *tij* but apparently influenced in form by thought of *tyaj* or the like, see VV I p 191

§734. All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following

prapinam (MŚ v 1 °*am*, TS ApŚ *prapyātām*) *agne sarīrasya* (MŚ *saḥīlasya*) *madhye* VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ The 'roots' *pī* and *pyā* are ultimately one

yatrāsate sukrīto yatra te yayuh (AV *ta iyrūh*) RV AV VS ŚB TA 'Roots' *yā* and *i*, the latter form here metrically poor

vikrīda (KS. °*da*, VS °*dra*, MS *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS TS MS KS It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of

Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here; but nothing is really known of the word

agne devānām ava heda ūyakṣva (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ *ūyakṣva* is a desiderative from *yaj*; possibly for metrical reasons, KS presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present

dhanāni śakro dhanyah (AŚ. *dhanīh*) *surūdhāh* TB AŚ The reduction of the commonplace adjective *dhanyah* to the monstrous *dhanīh* can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read *dhanī*, from *dhanin*?).

§735. Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like *id*, *īm*, varying with *yad*, *yam*; or the like.

apām payasvad it (KS *yat*) *payah* RV KS *-apām payaso yat payah* AV. TS. TB MŚ

gomān id (SV. *yad*) *indra te sakhā* RV SV

muṣkāv id (VSK °*kā id*, LŚ °*kau yad*) *asyā ejatah* AV. VS VSK ŚŚ LŚ

matram na yam (TB *īm*) *śrīmyā goṣu gavyavah* (TB °*vat*) RV TB

samyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam it*, KS * *sarīt*, all mss) *śravanī sarīto* (TAA. °*tā*, Poona ed °*to*) *na dhenāh* RV VS TS MS KS * ŚB TAA KŚ ApŚ * MŚ

yadī tvam atra (Vait *tvam tatra*) *manasā jagantha* VS AŚ ŚŚ Vait. *yad-yat tvam atra manasānuveltha* LŚ

itī cid dhi (AV. **yadī cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantām* RV AV (both)

§736. In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition *ā* before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in *i* :

mā dhenur atyāsārīṇī (HG *atīśā*°) HG ApMB. The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB, HG has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhea')

yajña pratīṣṭha sumatau suśevāh TB ApŚ *yajñah pratyāṣṭhāt* (v 1 *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS *yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau matinām* MŚ

toyena jīvān jñsasarja (TA. text *vya ca sarja*, comm v 1 *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA MahānU The only possible reading in TA is *vyasasarja*, which is itself anomalous enough, see VV I p 140

abhyāṣikṣi rājābhām (ApŚ °*bhūvam*) MS ApŚ *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam* (v 1 °*bhūvam*) MŚ

§737. Stems or endings in *i* varying with extensions in *(y)a*
agnir gṛhapatīnām (MS KS *gārhapatyānām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
sūpasthā asī vānaspatyah MŚ *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* TS
ye 'gnayah purīṣyāh (*purīṣinah*), and others, see §907

antimitraś (TS *antya*°) *dūre-amitraś* (MS *'mitraś*) *ca ganah* VS. TS.

MS KS. Both probably mean 'having near friends', *anti* and adj *antya*. Weber and Keith follow the comm on TS in dividing *anti-amitraś*, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible

agnir havyam (RV KS. *havih*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV *svadayatu*) RV AV. VS. TS MS. KS

ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc char*°) *payasā samehi* (TB °*tya*) TB Vait (also AVPpp) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund *samehya*; the 3d sing *samehi* may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Samprasāraṇa'. Cf VV I p 164

kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyam bhūt (SV *paricakṣi nāma*) RV SV TS MS N. The SV form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's *Glossar* for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other.

tāh prācyā (°*yah*, *prācīr*) . ., see §387. Equivalent case-forms; others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection

§738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions

satyam vadanty anv iha (KS *anu yacha*) *elat* TS KS PG *anu-iṣ* 'seek after': *anu-yam* 'follow'

yebhir viśvam (SV. *vy aśvam*) *arayaḥ* RV. SV *Vy aśvam* doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift Benfey takes *aśva* as a proper name

anyām iha pūrṣadam vyaktām (ApMB *vittām*) RV ApMB. *jāmim iha pūrṣadam nyaktām* (read °*tām*) AV *vittām* is certainly secondary. Note that in *jāmim* *anyām* we also have a kind of samprasāraṇa in the final syllable

acittapājā (TA *acyuta*°) *agnūt* MS TA. ŚŚ. Also. *acittamanā* (TA *acyuta*°) *upavaktā*, same texts Here *yu:* *i* vary, cf the second variant in §736, and next

bhujyuh (MS. *bhujī*) *suparno yajño gandharvah* VS TS MS KS ŚB. *yu:* *i*, cf prec

pāhi mā didyoh (TS. TB *mādyā dwah*) VS. TS ŚB. TB.

ayam yo 'si (MŚ. *yo asya*) *yasya ta idam śirah* KS ApŚ MŚ. The latter certainly secondary

yena bhūyaś ca rātryām (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG *bhūrīś carā divam*) AG PG. ApMB MG See §61

12 Samprasāraṇa *u(ū)* *va*, *vā*, and the like.

§739. Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants, almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences The most clearly phonetic cases are

sva (KhG. *sur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS ApŚ GG KhG : *sva abhivyakhyam* (MS MŚ **kām*) *jyotiṣ vaiśvānaram* MS KS MŚ *sur* is certainly for *sar*, cf. the Dhātupāṭha root *sur* 'shine'

kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāsāh MS . *Lo asyā dhāma katudhā vyūṣṭih* AV. Different ablaut grades of the root *vas* 'shone'

agnir havyam (RV. KS *harāh*) *śamitā sūdayātī* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS The roots *sūd* and *svad* are distinct historically, but no doubt related prehistorically

agnir havyāni sūśadat RV . *agnir havyā sūśadati* RV.

ayā no yajñam vahāsi KŚ . *ayasā havyam ūhiṣe* ApŚ ApMB HG

And others; see §502 Related roots *vah* and *ūh*

And similarly in suffixal elements.

vidyullekheva bhāsarā (MahānU *bhāsurā*, v I *bhāsvārā*) TA MahānU

Both these stems are familiar adjectives

madhūntamānām (VSK *madhvant*°, MS *madughānām*) *tā patmann ādhūnomi* VS VSK ŚB MS The VS form is a kind of superlative to *madhu*, modeled upon *madin-tama*, which occurs in the preceding formula The VSK. form is a variation on the other, suggested by suffixal forms in *van(t)*

sugantuh karma karanah kariṣyan JB.. *sugam tvaḥ karmah karanāḥ karaḥ karasyuh* LŚ So the printed ed of LŚ, BR read *sugantvāḥ* 'leicht gangbar', but no **ganiva* is recorded The text is evidently very corrupt.

§740. Several times the AV. presents the word *abhiśastipā(h)*, 'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle *u*, while other texts read *abhiśastipārā*, as nom. of a suffixal form in *-van*; cf. Lanman's note in Whitney on AV 19 24 5, which suggests that AV. is secondary *bhavā kṛṣṭinām* (AV. *gr*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG ApMB HG. *abhūr grṣṭinām* (AV. **vaśānām* in text, mss *v āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*,

ApMB *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB *rṣṭinām putro abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. VS ŚB

And similarly, the particles *vā* and *u* interchange once.

yad vā (RVKh *u*) *devī sarasvatī* AV RVKh

§741. The prefix *su* exchanges a number of times with the stem *sva* in composition, just as both of them exchange with *sa* (§§364, 612) *nāraś caranti svasica iyānāh* VS TS ŚB.: *nāvo vīyanti susico na iānāh* MS. KS

imam yajñam sūdhayā ye yajante (KS *dadante*) KS AŚ . *imam ca yajñam sūdhayā dadante* MS . *ya imam yajñam svadhayā dadante* (ŚŚ *bhajante*) VS. TS ŚŚ

sugā (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS N. *sadanam*) *akarma* (MS *kṛnomi*, KS *Kauś* ApŚ *sadanāni santu*, KS *devās sadanedam astu*)
AV VS. TS MS. KS ŚB KS *Kauś* ApŚ N

sunūti svayaśastaram (SV *su°*) RV. SV.

avabhṛthaś ca svagākāraś (KS *su°*) *ca* MS KS. So the one ms of KS ;
but ed em *svagā°*, no doubt rightly; cf. *ava° ca me svagū° ca me*,
in Conc

ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte (AV *cā suhūte*) AV. VS MS ŚB TA AŚ.
ŚŚ See §119

pryāṇy aṅgāni svadhūtā parūṣi (Vait *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṇi*) TB. Vait
§742. The rest are sporadic lexical variants

urudrapso viśvarūpa induh TS ApŚ : *purudasmō viśurūpa* (KS *°das-*
mavad viśvarūpam) *induh* VS KS. ŚB KS Other cases of *viśu-*
viśva in §291

dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ pūrṇām somavatām VS : *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo*
dhūmrān babhrvanūkāśān ApŚ *babhrū + nūkāśa* (*anūkāśa*)

brahmādhiguplah (PG *brahmābhi°*) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG *surakṣitah syām*)
svāhā AG PG *brahmādhigūrtam svarākṣānah* (most mss *svārarak-*
ṣānah) MG For AG Stenzler says: 'moge ich Lieder ergießen'.

asmān (MS KS *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS KS *bhareṣu ā*) RV.
SV. VS TS MS KS *asmān devāso †vatā haveṣu* AV

svādhyo (TB *°dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB *apsv a°*) RV. TB
purutrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām*, comm *vanutām*) *viśhutam jagat*
RV AV. VS TS MS KSA N Sing. plur ; see VV I p 266

indrak (ŚŚ. *°as*) *patih tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ *tavastamo janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ *janeṣu*)
AV AA ŚŚ

ā yāhi (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ. *°ṣv ā*, MS *janiṣva*) MS. AB
AŚ. ŚŚ See §§693, 826

§743. A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, *vi* or
vī is found varying with *u* or *ū*

vidyutām (PG MG *udyatām*) *va sūryah* ŚŚ AG. PG MG

adyā kṛnuhi vītaye (SV. *°hy ūtaye*) RV. SV. : *nṛvat kṛnuhi vītaye* (SV.
°hy ūtaye) RV SV The variation may also be considered one
between *yū* and *vī* (§805)

achudrām pārayiṣṭum (SMB *°yṣṇvīm*) TS SMB Fem acc of *u* stem
dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV. KS *urviyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS *vi*
bhāt) RV VS TS MS. KS ŚB. ApMB Cf. §791, and next
variant The form *uruyā* seems to be characteristic of MS
caḥṣur ma urvyā (KS *urviyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB
Cf. prec.

dhīṣaṇe vidū (vidvī) . . , and others, see §169

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāh (TS *udītau vyeti*) RV VS. VSK TS : *yasmīn*
adhi vitatah sūra eti MS KS : *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahīvā* AV
 See §63

13 *aya·e* and the like

§744. On this general subject see Bloomfield, *AJP* 5. 27 ff ; Wackernagel I p 53 f It is clearly Prakritic in character. The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations. Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following, the MS form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other

namah kīṣīlāya ca kṣayanāya (MS *kṣenāya*) *ca* VS TS MS KS
 Epithet of land

§745. In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the *aya* forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents, but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them:

arejētām (TB *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV TB Cf VV I p. 154; a
 sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB., which spoils the meter

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS
 MS. KS ŚB *°yayam*, TA *rohēyam*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA
 See VV I p 152 The contracted form of TA is unmetrical

sed u rājā kṣayati (TB *kṣeti*) *carṣaṇīnām* RV. MS TB The con-
 tracted form is again unmetrical Cf VV I p 123

agnir (also *vāyur*, *prajāpatiḥ* etc) *dīkṣitah . . . dīkṣayatu* (JB *dīkṣeta*)
 JB. ApŚ See VV I §160

§746. Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles:

pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ. *°mam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ
iṣṭayah) AV. AŚ ŚŚ See VV I p 88

tasyed (AV *tasya yad*) *ākuh pippalam svāde agre* RV AV The AV
 expansion is hypermetric, according to Whitney, Ppp agrees
 with RV

§747. As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between *e(ai)* and *avi*, *ayi*, *iye*, *iya*, *ā-yā*
 For *e·ya*, *yā*, see §803.

samsrāvabhūgā (VS ŚB. *samsrava°*, MS *°gāh*, KS. Kauś *°gās*) *stheṣā*
 (Kauś *tanṣā*) *bṛhantah* VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §96

TS. p p *sīha*, *iṣāh*; and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished'; but this is implausible. The original doubtless means *sīha iṣā* 'ye are great by food'; Kauś, 'by strength'.

tebhyo ghṛtasya kulyāntu (TA *dhārayntum*) AV. TA. The AV. form intends *kulyā-etu*; TA suggests *dhārayntu* (*dhārā-etu*) as an intermediate stage between AV and its secondary reading

āruroha tve sacā (KS *twayy api*) KS TB AŚ. Vait ApŚ MŚ

revati predhā yajñapatim ā vīśa MS. KS.: *revati yajamāne priyam dhā ā vīśa* VS. ŚB: *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhānīśata* TS. ApŚ. The old adverb *predhā* (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes *priyadhā* in TS, and this is further broken up into *priyam dhāh*, 'establish the pleasant', in VS

vi dhūmam agne aruṣam mīyedhya (MS *medhya*) RV VS TS. MS ŚB.

TA *mīyedha* and *medha*, both RV, are synonyms, it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them.

agnir devebhyah sundatriyebhyah (TA *sundatrebhyah*) RV AV TA N.

In the original form *°datriyebhyah* stands for *°datriyebhyah* (suffix *ya*). *pratravebhyah* (TA *pratirebhyah*) *svāhā* MS TA. The correct reading is certainly that of MS; *pratirava* in the soma ritual means the 'echo-hole', otherwise called *uparava*. TA comm *pratirebhyo 'bhurddāhīhetubhyah prānadevebhyah* (as if *pra-tira* 'extending' [life]). *ā yāta* (SMB GG ViDh *eta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (HG *somyāh*) AV SMB GG HG ViDh *ā-yā* and *ā-i*, synonyms

Compare the interesting case *agnim* (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV SV, see §843

14. *ava*: *o* and the like

§748. See the references quoted in §744. The variants are even fewer than those concerning *aya* and *e*. The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form *to* (Wackernagel p 54)

to-to (MS KS MŚ *tava-tava*, TS ApŚ *to-te*) *rāyah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§749. Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency. *yatra yanti srotyās* (KS *sravatyās*) *taj jitam te* AV. TS MS. KS. The fuller form of KS improves the meter. RV. knows the stems *srotyā* (found here) and *sravanti* = KS *sravati*, both meaning 'stream'. But note that several mss of KS read *sravatyās*, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on *srotyās*.

sā nah priyā supratūrtir maghonī TS.: *sā nah supratūrtih priyā nah*

suhār naḥ priyavanūr maghavanūr antā ehi MS In TS the regular fem of *maghavan*, based on the weak stem *maghon-*, in MS an *i*-extension of the strong stem

svāhā tvā subhava (VSK TS ApŚ °*vah*, KS *subho*) *sūryāya* VS VSK TS MS KŚ KB ŚB ApŚ The KS probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem *su-bhu* (-*bhū*), parallel to -*bhava*(s)

anābho mṛda dhūrte (read °*ta* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ *anārbhava mṛda* KS ApŚ Cf p w 5 Nachträge, s v Possibly here also forms of root *bhū* may be involved, as in the last, but the readings are very obscure Epithets of Rudra KS ms reads *anānbhava*, KapS *anār*°

§750. We append a stray lexical variant of *ava* and *ū*,

avamais ta ūrvais te kāvyais te pītṛbhūr bhakṣayāmī PB LŚ · *ūmaiḥ pītṛbhūr bhakṣayāmī* AB ŚŚ Vait It is possible that the latter form intends *avama* 'nether', instead of *ūma* 'helper', which does not fit *pītṛbhūr* so well We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction Caland does not translate the word in Vait

For *o va*, *vā*, see §804

CHAPTER XVI INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

1 EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751. In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation One, the more extensive, is the writing of *iy* for *y* and *uv* for *v*, it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where *y* and *v* have vocalic function The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually *i*) between two consonants It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49-53, also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing *-rṣ-* or *-riṣ-*, in VV I pp 189-191 As Wackernagel says (p 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis

§752. In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel, and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it

§753. Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp 190-1, and Wackernagel I p 60 As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words *pra na* (MS *nā*, SV PB *na*) *āyūṇṣi tāriṣat* (VS *TS *KS *ŚŚ N * *tāriṣah*, Kauś *tārṣat*) RV AV SV VS *TS *MS KS *PB. TB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N* The Kauś form is bad metrically. *āchellā te* (TB ApŚ * *vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat*, MS and all mss of MŚ *mārsam*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ Since the root is *riṣ*, the Matr form (to be read also in MŚ) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for *mā riṣam*

§754. In the next group of variants, aorists of the root *car*, both forms with and without *i* are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without *i*, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS TB JB ApŚ *anv*, AV *divyā*) *acāriṣam* (JB † *acārṣam*, AV *acāyṣam*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

JB AŚ. LŚ ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB ApG MG Add to VV I §286a, p. 190. Note that JB. is unmetrical
agne vratapate vratam acārīṣam (MS MŚ. v. 1. *acārīṣam*), VS. TS MS.
 KS.† ŚB ŚŚ. ApŚ MŚ HG
vratānām vratapate (Kauś °*patayo*) *vratam acārīṣam* (MS. *acārīṣam*)
 MS. TA. Kauś

§755. The original form of *paraśu* or *parśu* is uncertain; Wackernagel §51 believes that it was *parśu*, but *paraśu* seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek πέλκυσ. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading *suastih*, the form *parśur* can be made to fit metrically); but note that in TS. both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes *parśu* suspicious:

paraśur (TS *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svastu* (TS. °*tih*) AV. TS

§756. There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered.

§757. The vowel inserted is regularly *i*, seldom *a* or *u*. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally *r*, and most frequently of all between *r* and a sibilant or *h*. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel *i* seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially *v*, this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter, to make the text metrical it has to be omitted.

§758. First, between *r* and sibilants the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel *i* is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, l. c):

yad rātrīyā (MahānU TA v 1 *rātrīyā*) *pāpam akārīṣam* (TA v 1 *akārīṣam*) TA. MahānU

dīteḥ putrānām adūter akārīṣam (MS *akārīṣam*) AV MS

tan nah parśad (MS *parīśad*) *ati dīṣah* TS MS

dakṣam te bhādrām ābhārīṣam (AV *ta ugram ā bhārīṣam*) RV AV

§759. The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. reads *dhūrīṣadam*. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p. 56, likewise delete there the form *dhūruṣāh-*, which is supported by only one ms. in TS 1 2 8 2; the other mss. all read *dhūrīṣāh-*.

ghṛtapratīkam va (TB ca) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. Bibl Ind. *dhūruṣadam*)
RV TB. ApŚ.

§760. There is one variant vowel between *l* and a sibilant; most mss of MS (in three occurrences) and of MŚ. (in two) read with epenthesis *-valśā*, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr. passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice *-valśā* and only once *-valśā*:

sahasravalśā (MS * MŚ v l °*valśā*) *vi vāyam ruhema* RV. VS. TS MS *
KS ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ The epenthetic *ι* is bad metrically.

§761. Between *r* and *h*, there are two instances of the same word. The variation is really lexical (*spārha- svāruha*), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering:

spārkhā (TB *svārukhā*) *yasya śrīyo dṛṣe* RV KS TB
spārho (TB *svāruho*) *deva nṛyutvatā* RV SV VS TB.

§762. A single instance between *l* and *h*:
etad brahmān upa valhāmusi (AŚ *apa*°, LŚ *upabahlhāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ.
ŚŚ LŚ

§763. Likewise one between *h* and *r*.
dahram (v l *daharam*) *vipāpmavaraveśmabhūtam* (TA Poona ed *vipāpm* [v l *vipāpma*] *vara*°, MahānU. *vipāpman varam* [v. l. *vara-* *veśma*°) TA MahānU Both *dahara* and *dahra* are known; the latter is required by the meter here.

§764. Before labial consonants, generally *v*.
puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśvān*) *voce* RV SV The inserted *ι* in SV is doubtless meant to improve the meter. In RV *dāśvān* was trisyllabic (probably *dāśuān*, Oldenberg)

sutah sudakṣa dhanva (SV *dhanva*) RV. SV. Read *dhanua* in RV the *ι* of SV is to be explained as in the prec
aśvinā gharman pātam hārdvānam (TA. *hārdhvānam*, read with Poona ed *hārdi*°) VS ŚB TA. ŚŚ And others, see §267

varṣmā (VS *varṣmā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, MS *drāghmā*, KS *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS TS MŚ KS The *ι*-forms of VS are exceptional Interesting is the TS form, which suggests a middle stage **drāghvā* (blend of KS *drāghvā* and VS *drāghimā*), which has suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*v*° *uy*)

Here we may also mention the common forms *prthvī* and *prthivī* In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form It is a disputed question which is the original; Wackernagel thinks *prthivī* (I p 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf. e g Avestan *perathvī*):

prthvī (VaradotU *prthvī*) *suvarcā yuvath sajoṣāh* TB. VaradotU.

§765. Finally, an isolated corruption

yad asyā anhubhedyāh (LŚ *anuhodbhyāh*) AV VṢ GB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ.

Vait LŚ The LŚ form is an uninterpretable corruption The word *anu* doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke or wrote it.

2 WRITING OF *iy* FOR *y* AND *uv* FOR *v*

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note, a briefer statement in Whitney 129d The Prātiśākhya seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr, altho the resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS. and other Tait. texts In the commentary on TPr 2 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference to it in the term *sphurita*, but the passage is by no means clear

§767. The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition comes out nowhere more clearly than here Certain broad general tendencies appear, the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all Taittiriya texts to prefer the spellings *iy* and *uv* Yet even this is cut across by counter-currents in individual cases The participle of the root *kṣi*, which in all non-Tait texts beginning with RV itself is regularly spelled *kṣiyant* with resolution, in Tait texts alone keeps or rather restores the historically 'regular' spelling *kṣyant*, in defiance of meter which shows that even there it must have been pronounced *kṣiyant* (§795) In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait texts perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their general practice. For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they read *prorṇvāthām* (this time with VSK) against *prorṇuv* of all other texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the present-sign *nu* is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a) Again, the word which in most texts is written *kuvala* seems to have in the Tait school the definitely established form *kvāla* (§782), nor can this be explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose Brāhmaṇa passages Similarly the adverb *urvyā* 'so RV. always' is spelled *urvyā* in TS (also in VS, §791), and *kuvaṇi* or **ya* of MS KS is written *kvayṇi* in TS and VS A Tait text (TA) even contains one of the three cases (*nyemur*, for *ni-yemur*) in which the final vowel (*i* or *u*) of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (*y* or *v*) which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance of the resolution of which the Tait school is otherwise so fond (§770)

§768. Nor is the Tait, school the only one which displays this capri-

cious character. KS. in general does not favor *iy* for *y* or *uv* for *v*. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write *tryam*, KS in three different variants shows the invariable spelling *tryam* (§776) The RV itself is guilty of one strange anomaly the pres mid participle of the root *su* 'press', is always written *suwāna*, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced *svāna*; the SV in the case of this word writes always *svāna*, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794)

§769. Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the *y* or *v* was syllabic Thus the writing *iy* or *uv* represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary In nearly every case the older version writes *y* or *v*, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait school) substitutes *iy* or *uv*

§770. To such an extent was *y* or *v* felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds *iy* or *uv* that in three variant texts we find an original *i* or *u*, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial *y* or *v* Cf. Wackernagel I p 59 These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention They are

mā tvā ke cin ni (AV *ke cid tvā*) *yaman vim* (SV *ke cin ni yemur in*, TA *ke cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinah* RV. AV. SV VS TA The TA form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for *ni yemur*; so the comm There is, to be sure, a v. l. *nī yemur*, but *nyemur* is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA

graha mśvajānina nyantar (KS *nyantar*) . MS KS. This and the next passage are prose KS can only intend *ni-nyantar*.

anvāsi PB : *anuvāsi* . TS KS (not GB. Vait , see §255) *anuvāya*

MS Here PB can only have in mind *anu-vā*.

§771. In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when *apsv ā* is resolved to *apsuv'ā* which is then read *apsu vā* in TS (§778), or when an original *nyañ* (from *nyañe*) is broken up into *ni yan* (thru the middle stage *myañ*) in a secondary reading of AV (§778) Again the adjective *apyā* is made into the two words *api yā* in SV (§785), and the RV *abhvam* (two syllables, not **abhvam*) is revamped by TB into *ab-bhuvam*, thinking of *ap* 'water' (§790) Other variants which have lexical bearings are *suwāñ* *svān(a)*, §778, *nv* for *nu* varying

with 'nv for *anu* (wrongly printed *nuv* in TB Bibl. Ind ed., §778); and the few cases in which suffixal forms in *īya(n)*, with *ī*, vary with forms in *ya(n)*, the *ī* proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of *y* to *iy* (§786). With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic.

§772. The variants fall into five clearly defined groups. First, *i* or *u* final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written *iy* or *uw* as well as *y* or *v* before an initial vowel; most commonly after more than one consonant. Second, non-final *y* and *v* in radical (initial) syllables; chiefly the one word *svar* (*suvar*) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in *k-* (in which the *iy* or *uw* form seems to be more primary). Third, the suffix *ya* pronounced *īya*, and written so in secondary texts; in practically all cases after more than one consonant. Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short *i* or *u*, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel; again the *y* or *v*, even when not written *iy* or *uw*, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts. Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles.

§773. In all of these groups except the last, the writing *iy* or *uw* is secondary to *y* or *v*, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter. Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait texts which show this secondary writing. Typical is their treatment of the word *svar*, which they practically always write *suvar*; the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait texts (such as KS., from which ApŚ frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts. It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of *iy* and *uw* an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation. The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV always writes *svāna*, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV *suvāna* (§794). Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter.

A. *uv* and *iy* for *v* (*u*) and *y* final before vowels

§774. Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the *y* or *v* is always syllabic. We begin with the particle *u*, which in the RV etc is always written not *v* but *u* before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in *y* for final *i*), but *v* when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a).

ghṛte śrīto ghṛtam v (TA. *uv*) *asya dhāma* RV. VS. TA AŚ MŚ.
praty u (TB. *u*) *adarśy* (TB *ṭadṛśy*) *āyatī* RV. SV. TB ŚŚ. AŚ.
na vā u (TS TB. ApŚ *uv*) *elan mriyase na riṣyasi* RV. VS TS. KSA.
 ŚB. TB ApŚ

sa u (TS *uv*) *ekavinsavartanah* TS MS Prose

§775. The spelling *uv* was regular from RV times in the word *svita* (*svita*). It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait. texts: *śaraḍ dhemantah svite dadhāta* (MŚ °*tu*) KS MŚ. *śaraḍ varṣāh svite* (TS. SMB *svitam*) *no dadhāta* (TS. SMB *astu*) AV TS. SMB.
 The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS SMB.
 because of their change to *astu*

svite mā dhāh TS MS KS ŚŚ LŚ ŚG. N.: *svite* etc VS. GB. ŚB AŚ.
 Vait. Prose

§776. The word *tryavī*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *triyavī* in KS, altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *iy*, and altho Tait. texts write this word *tryavī* (!) Two of the variants are prose, the other requires syllabic *y* or *iy*.

tryavī (KS *triyavī*) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS TB.

tryavī (KS. *triyā*°) *vayah* VS. TS MS KS. ŚB. ApŚ Prose

tryavī (KS *triyā*°) *ca me tryavī* (KS *triyā*°) *ca me* (MS MŚ omit *me* twice) VS TS MS KS MŚ Prose

§777. The rest are sporadic

śutudrī stomam sacatā paruṣṇy (TA °*ny*) ā RV. TA MahānU N. In a jagatī stanza, RV. certainly pronounced °*ny-ā*
asikny (TB °*ny*) *asy oṣadhe* AV. TB.

dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣṇvojasah (TB *dhṛṣṇuvo*°) RV AB. KB TB

§778. False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following:

yad oṣadhīṣv apsv ā (TS *apsu vā*) *yajatra* RV VS TS ŚB *apsu vā* clearly based upon the intermediate stage *apsuv ā* As a matter of fact, this may be what TS really intends, but p p divides *apsu vā*, and so Weber and Keith

nyañ (AV. *nī yan*) *nī yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °*tm*) RV. AV. KS.

The AV. has a corruption based upon *nyañ* for *nyañ*

svāna bhrājā°.. VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ *svān nabhrād* KS.. *svāna bhrāj* .TA. *svāñ nabhrād*.. MS MŚ In the latter *su-vāk* (*vāc*) is meant

[*talo no rudrā uta vā ṛnv asya* RV. *talo no rudrā uta vā nuv* (but Poona ed 'nu, and comm *anu*) *asya* TB We assume that the Poona ed is right, so that the variant does not belong here]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final *i* or *u* is suppressed before an initial *y* or *v*

B Non-final *y* (*v*), in radical (initial) syllables

§779. These mostly concern the one word *svar* and its compounds. Numerous variant pādas begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form *suvar* is practically limited to Tait texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait texts write *svar* are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ) from non-Tait sources, retaining the non-Tait spelling. We note that in the variant *s(u)varge loke samprornuvāthām* TS KSA TB, the true reading of KSA is *†svarge loke †samprornuvāthām*, correct Conc

§780. In addition to formulas beginning with *svar* we find for example (the list is far from complete)

pari lokān pari dīśah pari svah (TA MahānU *suwah*) VS. TA MahānU *dwi mūrdhānam dadhīse svarṣām* (TS TB *suw*) RV VS. TS. MS KS TB

hiranyavāśir iśrah svarṣāh (TB. *suw*) RV TB —The compound stem *svarṣā* occurs also once initially, viz

svaṛṣām (TB *suw*) *apeām* (TB Poona ed twice *†apsvām*, text and comm) *vṛjanasya gopām* RV VS MS TB

§781. There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait text (TB) reads *svar* contrary to metrical requirements, if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait school, TA and MahānU, write *suwar*.

tapasarṣayah (MahānU °*rṣayah*) *suwar* (TB *svar*) *anvanandan* TB TA MahānU

§782. Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in *vy* or *uv* (always preceded by *k*, is this accidental?), is replaced by *y* or *v* alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait text has the secondary reading with *y* or *v* alone, and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait school and to be regularly used there in this particular word—despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait tendency. Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations.

pakṣmāni godhūmanī kuvalaiṛ (TB *kvalaiṛ*) *utāni* VS MS KS TB

Here, to be sure, the form *kvalaiṛ* makes better meter. But this

cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as *kṛdā* in the Tait school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Brāhmaṇa passage, TS. 2. 5. 3. 5 — The same word in
ajo dhūmro na godhūmaḥ kuvalair (TB. *kvalair*) *bheṣajam* VS MS. TB.
kīyāmbṛ atra rohatu RV : *kīyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA *jāyatām*) AV TA

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling :
kurayah (KSA and p p of MS °yih) MS KSA · *kvayih* . . VS TS
 §783. Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle *saṁdhvānā*, which TS substitutes (in defiance of meter) for *saṁdhvānā* of other texts We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for *saṁdhvānā*, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root *dhu* (*dhū*) ·

saṁdhvānā (TS. °*dhurānā*) *vātā abhi no grñantu* TS MS KS. AŚ

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832; the word *bhūyah* 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending -*bhyah* (KS, or -*bhūh* AV.).

viśvā amīdāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ (KS. °*ṣebhyah*) AV KS : *viśvā āsāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhūyah* VS. TS.. *vy amīdāh pramuñcan mānuṣānām* MS

C. Suffixal *y* in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written *iy*

§784. Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal *ya*, but also a few forms in (i)*yañc*, (i)*yac*, where the *y* is treated in the same way. In all genuine instances of this variation, the *y* follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character). In practically every case the writing *īya*, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary It occurs almost exclusively in Tait texts. The following are the metrical pādas concerned, beginning with the few (i)*yañc* stems
asmadryak (TS °*dryak*) *saṁ mīmīhi śravānsi* RV. TS. MS KS
asmadryag (TS TB °*dryag*) *vēvṛdhe vīryāya* RV. VS TS MS KS.
 ŚB. TB.

te pāyarah sadhryaṇco (TS *sadhryaṇco*) *niṣadya* RV TS MS KS
mā te mano viṣadryag (TS °*dryag*) *vi cārī* RV TS MS KS
vi mucyadhvam aghnyā (TA ApŚ *aghnyā*) *devayānāh* VS MS KS. ŚB
 TA ApŚ MŚ.

vājam arvaṣu payo aghnyāsu (TS *aghnyāsu*) TS KS.
payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām (TB ApŚ *aghnyāsu*) AB TB AŚ ApŚ
yad āpo aghnyā (TS. TB *aghnyā*) *iti* (omitted in TS TB MS KS LŚ.)

AV. VS. TS MS. KS ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ. LŚ : *yad āhur aghnyā it*
VS. ŚB.

ni vīram (TS. *vīravat*) *gavyam aśvyam* (TS. *aśviyam*) *ca rādha* RV. TS
MS KS. Several mss. of MS *aśviyam*

sugavyam no vāṇi svaśvyam (TS *°vīyam*) RV. VS. TS. KSA AŚ
parā duṣvapnyaṁ (TB TA ApŚ MahānU. *°niyam*) *suva* RV. SV. TB.
TA. ApŚ Kauś. MahānU.

achā devān ūciṣe dhiṣnyā (TS *dhiṣniyā*) *ye* RV. VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB.
sa budhnyā (TS TB. TA *budhniyā*) *upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ* AV. SV VS TS
MS. KS. ŚB TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. TA

pra budhnyā (TS. *°niyā*) *va irate* (TS *irate vo*) *mahānsi* RV. TS MS KS
AŚ. ŚŚ.

ahim budhnyam (TS. *°niyam*) *anu rīyamānāḥ* (MS KS *anv iyamānāḥ*,
TS. *anu samcarantīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

svāyām tanū (ApMB.†MG †tanūn) *rtvye* (RV.† *rtvye*) *nādhāmānām*
(ApMB *nātha°*, MG. *bādha°*) RV ApMB. MG.

sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣnyebhiḥ (TB *°niyebhiḥ*) *samohāḥ* RV. AB. KB. TB

tanī sadhrīcīr ūtayo vṛṣnyāni (TB *vṛṣniyāni*) RV. MS KS. TB.

bṛhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣnyam (MS *°nam*, see §315; TS *°niyam*)
TS. MS KS. AŚ

§785. There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant
(cf. §771):

ya usriyā apyā (SV. *api yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV. *°ni*) RV. SV The
adjective *apyā*, pronounced *apiyā*, is falsely divided in SV

§786. In several variants suffixal *y*, of various kinds, varies with
īy; that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary
noun formations in (ī)*ya* sometimes; the rest are either comparatives
in *yañs-īyans*, or denominative participles. In some cases the form in
īy is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in
plain *y* secondary; note that, most curiously, one of these secondary
forms without *ī* occurs in TS !

apo vṛnānah pavate kavīyan (SV.† *°yān*, TS *kavīyan*) RV. SV. TS KSA

In SV. nom. of a comparative stem; in the others, of denominative
participles

turiyādītya (VSK *turyā°*) *saranam* (RV. *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV VS VSK
TS. MS KS ŚB.

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical,
and is twice found in Tait texts alone.

tam kṛā grnāmi tarasam atavyān (TS *°rīyān*) RV. SV. TS MS KS. N.

Comparatives

sanīm gāyatram navyāṅsam (TA. *navīyāṅsam*) RV. SV. MS TA. Comparatives In the next case the meter is ambiguous:
derā devebh्यo adhvaryanto (KS *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuḥ* VS. TS KS. ŚB. *sviṣṭīm* (°*ṣaṁ*) *no abhū* ('*bhi*) *vasyo* (TS KS. *vasīyo*) *nayanu* AV. TS. KS KS. MŚ. Here the meter shows that *y* was vocalic, tho the spelling *vasyo* seems older.

yathā no vasyasas (TS °*sah*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB LŚ.

unnetar vasīyo (KS. *vasyo*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. Prose.

namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya. (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS MS. KS. Prose.

pāra ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ (KSA.† '*vārīye*°) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *acāra ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA *pārīye*°) TS. KSA Prose

§787. The following are the prose variants of *ya* and (short) *iya*.
etāni te aghniye (PB. 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS ŚB. MŚ. In the latter form quasi-meter.

ā pyāyadhvam aghnyā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB ApŚ. MŚ.

yāsyā cputryā (ŚG. °*trīyā*) *tanūs* . . . ŚG. SMB

chir asi budhnyah (TS. ApŚ *budhniyah*) VS. TS MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ ApŚ
chirbudhnya mantram me pāhi MŚ . *ahe budhniya mantram me gopāya* TB. ApŚ.

chir budhnyo (TS. °*niyo*) *devatā* TS MS KS.

namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya (TS °*myāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS : *namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca* KS.

namo agriyāya (VS. KS. 'gryāya, MS 'grīyāya) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

namo rātyāya ca reṣmyāya (TS. °*myāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

namo vādhryāya (MS °*riyāya*, p p. °*ryāya*; TS. *nama īdhriyāya*) *cāla-pyāya ca* VS. TS MS. KS.

namaḥ śighryāya (TS. °*ryāya*) *ca śibhyāya ca* VS. TS.: *namaḥ śibhāya ca śighrāya ca* MS. KS. .

sumitrā (VS ŚB. MahānU. ŚŚ KS. °*trīyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) . . . VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB TB. TA MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KS MŚ.
 And similarly *durmītrās* etc , see §315.

aśvibhyām tirohnyānām (MŚ. *tirohnyānām*) . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

tiroahniyān (MŚ. *aśvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somān* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

D. Stem-final of nouns in *i* or *u*, long or short

§788. Here again the meter shows that the *y* or *v* was in nearly every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to *iy* or *uv* is in

accord with the pronunciation. Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait texts. The variants fall naturally into four groups. First, monosyllabic (radical) *i* and *u* stems. In these we expect regularly *iy* and *uw* before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a); consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show *y*, *v*, but Tait texts (and rarely others) show *iy*, *uw*. Second, derivative *i* stems of the *devī* type, and very rarely *u* stems in forms that imitate the *devī* declension (see Wackernagel III §97d; only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems (see §792). Fourth, *u* stems of the *vr̥kīs* type; the variants are practically limited to the one word *tanū*.

§789. Monosyllabic (radical) stems in *i*, *u*. Most of the variants are metrical; we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems *dhī*, *bhū*, and *pū*.

svādhyam (TS °*dhiyam*) *janayat sūdayac ca* RV. VS TS MS

svādhyo (TB. °*dhiyo*) *manasā devayantah* RV. MS KS AB TB. PG

svādhyo (TB. °*dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv ajī*°) RV TB.

tañ tvā vayam sudhyo (TB. *sudhiyo*) *navyam agne* RV. MS. KS TB

pāhu mām yaññanyam (TS TB. °*niyam*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB. ŚŚ

vaneṣu citrañ vibhvañ (TS *vibhuvam*) *viṣe viṣe* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB

vibhure (MS *vibhve*, KS † *vibhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ. Prose

abhibhure (MS *abhibhve*, KS *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS MS KS TB ApŚ

Prose.

śalam yasya subhvaḥ (SV. *subhuvah*) *sākam īrate* RV SV

mahiṣam naḥ subhvañ (AVPpp ms *subhavas*, Barret JAOS 35 46

subhuvas) *tasthivānsam* AVPpp MS. *śamudram na subhvaḥ svā*

abhiṣṭayāḥ RV.: *śamudram na subhuvas tasthivānsam* AV. Others,

see §119

ghṛtēna no (MS KS. *mā*) *ghṛtapvaḥ* (TS. °*puvaḥ*) *punantu* RV. AV VS

TS MS KS ŚB. According to Roth, AVPpp also °*puvaḥ*

devas tvā savitā punātu vasoh pavitrena . . *supvā* (ApŚ *supuvā*) VS ŚB

ApŚ. *devas tvā savitotpunātu* . . . *supvotpunāmī* Kauś. Prose.

§790. A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following:

arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvam (TA *abbhuvam*) RV TA. The *pāda* occurs in a triṣṭubh verse, and *abhvam* was undoubtedly a dissyllable in RV. In TA it is reinterpreted as *ab-bh(u)vam* 'originating in water', according to the comm., see §392

§791. Derivative *ī* and *ū* stems of the *devī* type The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the *y* or *v* has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases The first is the only case of an *ū* stem

samrājñī śvasrvām (ApMB °*rvām*) *bhava* RV SMB ApMB On this form cf Wackernagel III p 189, l 1

asiknyā (TA °*nyā*) *marudvrdhe vitastayā* RV TA MahānU N
sūro rathasya naptyah (ArS *naptryah*, TB °*tryah*) RV. AV ArS KS TB

ubhayaṛ ārtnyor (TS °*nyor*) *gyām* VS TS MS KS

devo vamryo (VSK *vamryo*) VS VSK ŚB KŚ Prose

drśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urvyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaul* (MS *vi bhāti*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApMB This adverb is always spelled *urvyā* in RV, the spelling *uruyā* (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS, cf next

calṣur ma urvyā (MS *uruyā*, KS *urvyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB Prose Cf prec

apīparo mā rātryā (MŚ *rātryā*) *ahno mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ Also *apī° māhno rātryai* (*rātryai*) etc, same texts

yad rātryā (MahānU and v. l of TA *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v. l *alārṣam*) TA MahānU *yad rātryāt kurute pāpam* TAA Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form

rātryai (TB °*tryai*) *kṣnam piṅgākṣam* VS TB

rātryai (TS *rātryai*) *tvā* TS KS PB Vait

rātryai (TA ApŚ *rātryai*) *mā pāhi* TA ApŚ MŚ

rātryai (TS TB *rātryai*) *svāhā* TS MS KS KSA TB

viśvapsnyā (TS °*psnyā*) *viśvatas pari* SV VS. TS MS KS KS Kaus

Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form

samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriai (TS ApŚ °*tryās*) .. TS KS PB. ŚŚ KŚ. ApŚ

sa gāytryā (TS TB °*tryā*) *triṣṭubhā* . VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ Kaus

gāyatriai (TS °*tryai*, MS KS °*tryā*) *gāyatram* VS TS MS KS KS ŚB

mano gāyatriai (TB ApŚ. °*tryai*) VSK TB. KŚ ApŚ

§791a. The following case is peculiar

vilpī yā (*vilpīyā*) *brhaspate* AV (both) In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12 4 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical Whitney would emend *vilpīyā* to *vilpī yā*, but this is unnecessary, *vilpīyās* would be a correct genitive form, depending on *aśnīyāt* of pāda c. 'of the *vilpī* (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat'

§792. Gemitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems On these cf. Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write *-yoh* and *-voh* (rather than *-iyoh* and *-uoh*) 'durchweg'; the occurrence of the Tait spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked As Wackernagel observes, the *y* and *v* in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV..

indrāgnyor (TS. ApŚ °*gn̥y̥or*) (prose formulas, see Conc) VS TS.

MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ayād agnir indrāgnyoś TB *ayād indrāgnyoś* .MS

bāhvor balam TS TAA *bahu bāhvor balam* AV *bāhvor balam* Vait
MŚ PG

bāhvos (TS *bāhvos*) *tava hetayah* VS TS *hetayas tava bāhvoh* MS KS
patāti didyun naryasya bāhvoh (TS *bāhuvoh*) RV TS MS KS

ūrvor (TS TAA *ūruvor*) *ojah* AV. TS TAA Vait MŚ PG

§793. The stem *tanū* and its type The only form from another stem than *tanū* itself is the fem accus sing *sudrvam* (from **sudrū*, fem to *su-dru*), which is of course pronounced *sudruvam* and is so written in SV —The very numerous cases in which *uv* for *v* is written in forms of *tanū* in Tait texts alone are not listed in full

nemim taṣṭeva sudrvam (SV *sudruvam*) RV SV

yasyai bāhvīs tanuvo vīlaprṣṣhāh TB . *yasyā bāhvyas tanvo vīlaprṣṣhāh*
MS

na dhvasmānas tanvī (TS *tanuvī*) *repa ā dhuh* RV. TS

tanūs tanvā (TS TAA *tanuvā*) *me saha* AV TS TAA PG Vait
tanūr me tanvā saha MŚ The AV mss read °*me sahed antāh*
or the like, the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS TB ApŚ SMB PG
Note that PG has the characteristic spelling of TS from which it here quotes (there is a *v* l *tanvai*).

tayā nas tanvā (TS ŚvetU *tanuvā*) *śamtamayā* VS TS MS KS ŚvetU
NīlarU Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form

tanvam (TS ApŚ ApMB HG *tanuvam*) *me pāhi* VS TS MS KS AB
ŚB JB ŚŚ ApŚ PG HG ApMB Prose

E Verbal forms

§794. The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous A large group contains the participle *suṽāna*, from *su* 'press', which is always

written thus in RV altho pronounced *svāna*, SV. changes the spelling to match the pronunciation:

pra suvānāso (SV. *svā°*) *bṛhaddiveṣu* (SV. *°deveṣu*) *harayah* RV. SV.

bṛhat somo vāvr̥dhe suvāna induh (SV *svāno adrih*) RV. SV.

soma u suvānah (SV. PB *ṣvā°*) *soṭrbhūh* RV SV PB.

mitrāh suvānā (SV. *svānā*) *arepasah* RV SV

indre suvānāsa (SV *svā°*) *indavah* RV AV SV.

ā soma suvāno (SV. *svāno*) *adribhūh* RV. SV.

pari śya suvāno akṣāh (to be read *akṣāh*, cf. Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc)

RV *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV : cf. *pari sya suvāno avyayam* RV.

pari suvānaś (SV *svā°*) *caḥṣase devamādanah* RV. SV

pari suvānāsa (SV *svā°*) *indavah* RV. SV.

pari suvāno (SV PB *svāno*) *giriṣṭhāh* (to be read *°ṣṭhāh*) RV. SV. PB.

suvānā (SV. *svānā*) *devāsa indavah* RV SV.

suvāno (SV. *svāno*) *aṣa pavitra ā* RV SV.

suvāno (SV. *svānair*) *yātī kamkratuh* RV. SV

§795. We have already referred (§767) to the Tait. spelling *kṣyant* for regular *kṣiyant*, participle of root *kṣi* (*kṣeti*, *kṣiyanti* etc), in defiance of meter

pratī kṣiyantam (TS *kṣyantam*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. VS TS MS KS. ŚB

ādityasya vratam upakṣiyantah (TB *°kṣyantah*) RV MS TB.

§796 Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait texts show *vyantu* for *vyantu* (root *v̥*) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical. *samīdho agna ājyasya vyantu* (TB. *vyantu*) MS KS TB

aktam (MS MŚ *aptubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB KhG. *vyantu*) *vayah* TS. MS KS. TB. MŚ. GG. KhG. *vyantu vayo* 'Itam (VSK *ripto*) *rihānāh* VS VSK ŚB. KŚ The comms on both VS and TS, followed by Keith, take the verb form from *v̥* + root *i*.

vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu (TB *vyantu*) VS. MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ

vyantu (TS *vyantu*) *devā haviṣo me asya* TS MS KS.

vyantu (TS *vyantu*) *devīr ya ṛtur janīnām* RV AV TS MS. N

vyantu (TB *vyantu*) *ājyasya* VS MS KS TB

uta gnā vyantu (TB *vyantu*) *devapatnīh* RV AV. MS TB. N

pībantū madantu (MS *°tām*) *vyantu* (TB *vyantu* *somam*) VS MS TB.

pratī na īm surabhīni vyantu (TS *vyantu*) RV. TS. MS. KS

lekah salelah vyantu TS. *sahlah saḥgah*. *vyantu*. MS KS

§797. In two prose variants Tait texts, with VSK, read *pror̥ṇvāthām* for the more regular *pror̥ṇuvā°* (above, §767)

svargena lohena saniprornuvāthām Vait *svarge loke prornuvāthām* (MS °tām, VSK *prornvāthām*) VS VSK MS ŚB *suvarge* (KSA † *svarge*) *loke saniprornuvāthām* (KSA † °nuvā°) TS KSA TB
ghṛtena dyāvā pṛthivī prornuvāthām (VSK TS ApŚ *prornvāthām*; MS MŚ † *prornuvātām*) VS VSK TS MS ŚB KS ApŚ MŚ
vapayā dyāvā° prornuvāthām Kauś

§798. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root *hū* (of the 6th, *tud*-class?) with *v* exchanging with *uv*. The latter are commoner in most texts.

mano nu ā huvāmahe (Vait °hū, VS. ŚB. KŚ Kauś *huvāmahe*) RV VS
 VSK TS MS KS. AB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait. LŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś
 See VV I §2

tam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV SV.

CHAPTER XVII. METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

1 Metathesis

§799. On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references. The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

§800. We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another *pūlyāny* (ApMB *kulpāny*) *āvapanīkā* AV ApMB. Here mss of both texts present both readings, and the variation between *lp* and *ly* may be considered graphic.

asmaddātṛ devatrā gachata madhumatīh TS *asmadrātā* (MS KS ŚŚ add *madhumatīr* or °*ī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS *gacha*) VS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ. The TS is doubtless secondary: 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates; this is of course the meaning of the other variant).

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS *yasyedam ā rajah* AA *yasyedam oja ārujah* ŚŚ. See §244.

endram vagnunā vahata PB. *vagnunendram hwayata* TB. ApŚ.

§801. Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times.

yad ejaṭ jagatṭ yac ca ceṣṭatṭ nāmno (MahānU *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA Poona ed. 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*) *svāhā* TAA MahānU. In MahānU v. 1 *mānyo* for *nānyo*, and *yan nāmne* for *yatnān me*. The comm. understands 'let that (all) be my (*ātmanah*) portion by effort—no other'. TAA comm. says *nāman* = *paramānman*!

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG SMB PG ApMB HG *yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrīyāya* MG. The latter is simply a bad corruption: original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'.

adhā jūrī (AV *atha jūrīr*, mss *jūrīr*; ApMB *athā jūrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsī* (RV *vadāthah*) RV AV ApMB. See §544.

§802. More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants:

yena turyeṇa brahmanā brhaspalaye 'parathās tena mahyaṁ pavaśva JB.: *yena rūpeṇa prajāpalaye †'vapathās tena mahyaṁ pavaśva* KS. The original is 'vapathās, as shown by the preceding formula in KS, *trīr varubhyo 'vapathās* etc. (see Conc.). If the JB. reading is correct, it contains metathesis of *p* and *v*, with assimilation to the following *pavaśva*.

mīrāya kulīpayān (MS. *pulīkayān*) VS. MS. See §149, and next *nātro makaraḥ kulīpayas* (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA. † *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See under prec.

svasti naḥ putrakṛtheṣu (MG. *pathyākṛtheṣu*, v. l. as RV.) *yonīṣu* RV. AB. MG.

vīśvasmai bhūtāyādhraro (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. 'dhraro 'ei) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

abaddhaṁ mano daridraṁ cakṣuḥ sūryo . . . TS. KŚ. BDh.: *adabdhāṁ mana iṣiraṁ cakṣuḥ* (MŚ. *adabdhāṁ cakṣur ariṣṭaṁ manah*) *sūryo . . .* MŚ. ŚG.

gharmaṁ locantaḥ (AŚ. 'ta, ŚŚ. 'taṁ) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *pravaṇeṣu*) *bībhṛataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

chandonāmānām (VSK. *chandomānānām*, TS. 'mānām) *sūmrājyaṁ gacheti* (VSK. *gachatād iti*, MŚ. *gached iti*) . . . VS VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

jari cetid (mss. *cetid*, p p. *cya iti it*) *abhiśiṣaḥ* MS : *ya* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad*) *ṛte* (PB. *īyakṣate*) *cid abhiśiṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB. See §193.

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV. : *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ : *yo no dveṣṭy anu taṁ ravaśva* ApŚ. Here MŚ. transposes the syllables *nu-ta*.

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitiṁ*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rūh*, KS † *nṛma-ṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS. : *upa stuhi taṁ nṛmanām* (Poona ed. *enuhi taṁ nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110. The KS reading looks like a metathesis of *adhad rām*.

agne dakṣaiḥ punīki naḥ (TB. *mā*, MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB. The MS. reading may be a metathesis of that of TB., which is secondary to RV.

taṁ te hiranyaṁ taṁ u śantv (ApMB. *eam u śantv*) *ūpah* AV. Kauś. ApMB. See §277.

brahmādhigupṭaḥ (PG. *brahmābhiḥ*, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārū lṣarāni*

(PG *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svarākṣānah*, most mss *svarānakṣānah*)

AG PG. MG. Evident corruption in MG.

divas (SV *divah*) *prṣṭham adhi tṣṣhanthi celasā* (SV *†rohanthi tejāsā*)

RV SV With change of surd *c* to sonant *j*, cf. §57.

vājaś ca prasavaś vasuś (TS *suvaś*) *ca* . . . TS KS. The syllables *va-su* exchange position yielding *suvaś* (= *svar*)

§803. When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is *a*, is a diphthong in one of the forms These cases are related to §§747 and 748ff above, *q v* The following are instances of *e* (= *ay*, *āy*) varying with *ya*, *yā*:

arthaś ca mā emaś (VSK. *me yāmaś*, MS. *ca mā ema*) *ca me* VS VSK TS MS KS.

vrṣṭidyāvānam (ApŚ *vrṣṭim devānām*) *amṛtam svarvidam* MS. KS. ApŚ. *ahā yad dyāvo* (AV. *devā*) *asunūlm ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV.

āyur vasāna upa vetu (AV. TA *yātu*) *śeṣah* (TA. *śeṣam*) RV. AV. TA.

itādam viśvam bhuvanam sam eti (AV. *vi yāti*) RV. AV. N. Synonymous and related roots *i* and *yā*

ahorātre ūrvaśṭive (VS. *°ṣṭhīve*, TS *ahorātrayor vrṣṭyā*) . . VS. TS MS See §840

iyam pitryā (AB *var pitre*, AŚ ŚŚ *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV. GB. *ety*) *agre* AV. AB GB AŚ ŚŚ

tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (VSK *ba°*, VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB Cf VV I §175, and next

ā mā ślutasya ślutam gamyāt (Vait *gamet*) TS Vait *ā mā ślotrasya ślotram gamyāt* PB See prec

vanaspatīnr oṣadhī rāya eṣe (*rāye aśyāh*) RV (both)

ghṛtam eva (BDh. *ghṛtam yavā*) *madhu yavāḥ* BDh. V1Dh

§804. Instances of *o* (= *av*, *āv*) and *va*, *vā*

sāmāni cakrus tasarāny olave (AV *°nī vātave*) RV AV

vasiṣṭhahanuh śiṅgīni loṣyābhyām VS *°oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikoṣyābhyām* (TA *°kośā°*) TS TA.

sam eti vīsvā (AV *†vīśve*) *vacasā* (SV *ojasā*) *patim divah* AV. SV Roth quotes Ppp as reading *oham ā-*, evidently for *ojasā* See §52

pari ghransam omanā (TB *parighransa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS TB N Bad corruption in TB

§804a. A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive-ablative forms of *u*-stems, such as *madhoh madhvah* While this concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following examples here

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pavanta ūrmayah* RV SV

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV SV

madhoh pibatam aśvinā VS MS ŚB TA LŚ *madhvah* etc RV VS
AŚ ŚŚ

madhvah (SV *madhoh*) *pibanti gauryah* RV SV AV MS

madhos cakānaś cātūr madāya AV SV *madhvaś* etc AŚ ŚŚ

vasvāh (TB TA MahānU *vasoh*) *kuvid vanāti nah* RV KS TB TA
MahānU

§805. Instances of *u*, *vī*, and *yu*, *yū*

achā ma (SV *va*) *indram matayah svarīdah* (SV *svarīyuvah*) RV AV SV
GB Vait

adyā (also *nṛvā*) *kṛnuhī vītaye* (SV °hy *ūtaye*) RV SV Cf §743

āvītsi (MS *āyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhāh* RV VS TS MS KS

nādya śatrum nanu (ŚB *īna nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB

vivalam (MS KS *yuvalam*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā te vyoma (= *viyoma* or *vioma*, AV *yuyoma*) *samdr̥si* (AV ° *śah*, LŚ †
° *śah* or ° *še*) AV AA TA AŚ LŚ MG

yajñam prānaya (TS *pra suva*) *devāvyam* (TS MS *devāyuvam*) VS TS
MS KS ŚB

devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (KS *devāvyam*) *pr̥nacmī* etc MS KS ApŚ MŚ

devebhyas tvā devāvyam (VSK *devāyuvam*) *gr̥hnāmī* etc VS VSK ŚB

prāsmān ava pr̥lanāsu pra vikṣu (TB *yulsi*) RV TB

ukthebhyas tvokthāvyam gr̥hnāmī KS *uktheyebhya ukthīyāyuvam* ApŚ

varṣmā (VS *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS *drāghuyā*, MS *drāghmā*,

KS *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS See §764 TS apparently
has a metathetized form for **drāghivā*

§806. With the following interchanges of *ar* and *rā* are to be compared §§656ff In fact the *ar* forms in the following concern the *r* vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of *a* + *r*), or as gunā derivatives of a root in *r*

tena rādhyāsam VS. MS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś *tenardhyāsam*

KS SMB The latter stands for *tena r̥dh°*, cf §659

agnau samrādhanīm yaje HG *yaje samrādhanīm aham* ŚB BrhU

AŚ SMB ApMB *yuje* (read *yaje* with most mss, Hillebrandt

p 250) *tsamardham im aham* ŚŚ

ahā avaritīm (AV *arātīm*) *avidat* (AV ° *dah*) *syonam* AV TB ApMB

2 Haplology

§807. On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, *PAOS* 16 xxxiv, *AJP* 17 418, Wackernagel I pp 278ff, where further references may be found, we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV 4 5 5, and other

references below. We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups: those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplogy; those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology; and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable

§808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplogy: *prthivi vibhūvari* (ApŚ *bhūvari*). . KS. ApŚ This is a very clear case

On the strength of the isolated ApŚ form Boehtlingk (pw 6 304) set up a goddess Bhūvari, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective *vibhūvari* after *prthivi*

riśasyāñ riśi pravivīśvānsam (KS †*pravivīśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS. KS . *riśo-viśah pravivīśvānsam īmahe* AV Lanman, in Whitney's Transl, has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplogy But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also *ya āste yaś ca caratī* (AV. *yaś caratī*) RV AV. The haplogy is again noted by Lanman.

trīṇi padāni (TA. MahānU *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS TA MahānU. The ms of Ppp. *padānhatā guhās-*, em Barret JAOS 30 195 to the AVŚ reading Clear haplogy in TA. MahānU.

agne 'dabdhāyo 'śītatano ('*śīrtatano*, '*śītama*) *pāhi* ., see §353 *yāni kāni ca cakṛma* (ApŚ mss omit *ca*, by haplogy) MS ApŚ cf *duritāni yāni lāni ca cakṛma* MS . *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS TB TA. (here not really haplogy, *ca* is needed only after *kāni*)

ye vā (MS omits *vā*) *vanaspatīnṛ anu* (MS NīlarU °*patīnām*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB NīlarU. ApMB Supposed to be metrical even in MS., which is clearly haplogical In the same verse

ye vāvaṇṣu (MS †KS *ye 'vaṇṣu*) *śerate*, same texts Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing *avaṇṣu*, but is nevertheless certainly haplogical

tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva (MS *vardhasva cā pyāyasva*) VS MS. ŚB. TA : cf *eṣā te agne samit tayā* (MŚ *tayā tvam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS ŚB ŚŚ. MŚ ApŚ ŚG. ApMB. ApG HG The second *ca* is clearly required

yad eva kim ca pratijagrahāham (TA °*jagrāham*) AV TA The TA. form (also found in Poona ed) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplogical.

nyag vāto 'va vāti (AV. *vāto vāti*) RV. AV Lanman notes the haplogy *nyuyātām ito rapo apa sridhah* RV *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhah* TB. ApŚ. The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long *ū*

anhomuce pra bharemā (AV *bhare*) *manīṣām* AV. TS MS KS See VV I p 253.

anādhr̥ṣṭā apasyo vasānāh VS MS KS ŚB *anībhr̥ṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah* TS See Keith on TS

chandonāmānām (VSK °*mānām*, TS °*mānām*) *sāmṛāgyam gacheti* (with variants) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK see §802) is better than 'of the Chandomas', a ritualistic slip

yad ṭapsaiadrūr uparasya (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *lhādati* KS ApŚ The latter corrupt

guhā hutām nihitām (KS † omits *ni*°) *gahvareṣu* KS MŚ

namah śamgave (TS † *śamgāya*, for °*gayāya*°) . VS TS MS KS See §250

yasyedam ā rajo yujah AV ArS. *yasyedam ā rajah* AA Others, see §244

viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (MS °*nā vi*°) RV MS TB . *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV

parīdam vājy ajīnam (PG °*dam vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajīnam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG PG. HG ApMB The PG is not construable [*yo no agne niṣtyo yo 'niṣtyo* KS ApŚ Conc quotes ApŚ as omitting the second *yo*, a modern haplology!]

§809. The following cases are less certain.

mama ca nāma tava ca (KS once omits *ca*) *jālavedah* KS (both) The reading with *ca* is prose, the other metrical; this may account for the change, omitting *ca* (before *jā-*)

puru viśvāni jūrvan RV.: *puro rakṣānsi nijūrvan* AV (Ppp *viśvāni-jūrvan*) Whitney suggests *viśvā nijūrvan* for RV; Lanman, *viśvāni ni*°, assuming haplology As Oldenberg (*Noten* on l. 191 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda, he would read *jūrvan*

svavān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre MS *svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre* VS TS ŚB : *svāna bhrāj, aṅghārīr bambhārīh* TA : *svān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre* . . . KS. See Keith on TS 1 2 7 1, he suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original

3 Dittology

§810. The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation

kukūnanānām (KS *kūlanānām*, MS *pūlanānām*) *ivā* VS MS KS ŚB *lotanāsu* TS Note double dittology in VS ŚB

namo babhluśāya vyādhine (TS *vivā°*) VS TS. MS KS Either form makes good sense, we assume that the majority have the original *athem enam pra hinutāt pīrbhyah* (AV. †*pīrnr upa*); and:

athem enam (AV *athemam enam*) *pari dallāt pīrbhyah* RV. AV. TA.

See Whitney on AV. 18.2.4, 5. There is no doubt of the dittology in AV. (note the meter); in 18.2.5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss. and both editions. In 18.2.4 there is more variation in the mss., and SPP. reads *athem enam* with the comm

devā (AV *devā vā*) *etasyām avadanta pūrve* RV AV The meter proves AV. secondary, and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42.127) also omits *vā(ṭ)*

namo giriśāya (VS. °*śayāya*) VS TS. MS KS The stems *-śa* and *-śaya* are both unexceptionable, probably the majority indicate the original.

na śim adeva āpat (SV. *āpa tat*) RV. SV. ŚŚ. The RV. has an aorist of *āp*, to be read as a trissyllable SV tries to improve the meter; cf. VV I p 138.

nṛjālm nirjālpēna (MS *nirjālpēna*, TS *nirjālmakēna*, KS. *nirjālmāka-*) *śīrṣṇā* VS TS. MS KS Obscure word; VS. simulates an intensive from *jālp*

ye te agna (MS *agnā*) *indavo yā u nābhayah* (TA *urnunābhayah*, but Poona ed *u nā°* with *v* *l* *urnunā°*) MS KS. TA The absurd corruption of some TA. mss seems to be read by the comm. also; perhaps it was influenced by thought of *ūrṇanābhū* 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here

anhaspatyāya (VS ŚB. KŚ *anhasaspataye*) *tvā* VS TS MS ŚB TB. KŚ. ApŚ Stem varying with genitive case form in composition.

ṛtur janitrī tasyā apas (GB *apasas*) *pari* RV GB. If GB is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by *pari* (in RV. *apas* is governed by a verb in the next pāda, and *pari* governs *tasyāh*) But Gaastra reads *apas*, with *v* *l* *apasas*

tanūpās (TB Poona ed text and comm *tanūnapāc*) *ca sarasvatī* VS. KS TB. See §195.

itr asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV Svidh °*hrīre*) RV SV. Svidh. See VV I p 170

vr̥ṣā pavitre adhi sāno avye (RV **avyaye*) RV. (both) SV TA MahānU. N Both *avya* and *avyaya* (from *avya?* or *avi?*) are well known, and both are metrically possible; they are *triṣṭubh* and *jagati* forms of the same expression But the latter occurs in a verse

(9 86 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (*RVRep* 453), so that *avye* is probably original

ājim na gurvavāho jigjyur āsvāh SV *ājim na jagmur gurvāho āsvāh* RV
For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV the original Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6 24 6 The SV form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely
§811. Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following.

ndhedhāsi puruspārham (so KS and TB Poona ed, and p p of MS, MS text *puruṣaspārham*) *yaśasvat* MS KS † TB †
tato vākā (TS *tatah pāvākā*) *āśiṣo no juṣantām* VS TS MS KS ŚB
'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers', TS spoils the meter Dittology with *p* for *v*

tena yo 'smat (TA * *tenānyo 'smat*) *saṃr̥chātai* (MS mss *saṃr̥tsātām*) MS TA The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here TA repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change, the first version means 'whoever comes against us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc

indrāpāsya (v 1 *°yāsya*) *phalagam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya śephām alikam* HĠ Kirste, 'read *indra āyāsya*'

4 Haplogy or Dittology

§812. In a smaller group we find either haplogy or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns *mā* and *mām*

ājyur bṛhat tad aśtyo tan māvatu (MŚ *mām avatu*) ApŚ MŚ

tan mām āvīl TA TU *tan māvīl* MG

tan māvatu PB TA TU ApŚ *tan mām avatu* MŚ AG MG

punar mām aiv (AV Vait Kauś *maiv*) *indriyam* AV ŚB TA BrhU

ŚŚ Vait AG Kauś SMB GG HG MG

§813. Other, miscellaneous cases

vājayityāyari (KS *°jityari*) *tva* TS MS KS ApŚ MŚ Stems *jityā* and *jiti* While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive KS is probably on the whole the most original YV text; only two other schools differ from it, and *jiti* is a much commoner stem than *jityā*, which latter seems to be found only in composition with *vāja* and *āji*

śīsrāya vikakarān (KSA † *vikarān*, ApŚ *vikārān*, vv 11 *vikakarān*, *vikikārān*) VS KS ApŚ Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird) Cf the preceding formula, *hemantāya kakarān* (KSA † *kakārān*)

aneśann asya yā ɾṣavah (TS KS NilarU *asyeṣavah*) VS TS MS KS
NilarU The presence or absence of the articular relative makes
little difference, and the meter is no better in one reading than in
the other

bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣiñca (MŚ *uddhareṃ vanuṣanti*) TB ApŚ MŚ.
See §236, end Either haplology in TB ApŚ, or dittology in MŚ.
which is in any case corrupt, with *v* for *m*

anu no mārṣṭu (VS TS ŚB TA *anu mārṣtu*) *tanvo yad vīrṣṭam* (*vīk°*)
AV VS TS MS KS ŚB. TA ŚŚ

CHAPTER XVIII. FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

§814. Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.

1 A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change

§815. In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation.

§816. We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable.

ajāma sūro adhvano vmadhyam (AV *in madhyam*) RV. AV. Whitney rightly says that the AV reading is a corruption of the other.

oṣīṭhaṇanam śṛṅgīṇīkośyābhyām (TA **kośābhyām*) TS. TA *vasīṣṭha-
hanuh śṛṅgīṇī kośyābhyām* VS. The VS reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended.

yathēyam strī pautram agham na rodāt SMB PG ApMB HG. *yathedam
strīpautram aganma rudryāya* MG. See §801.

aghoraḥhoratarebhyaś ca MS. *ghora ghoratarebhyaḥ* TA. MahānU. Preceded by *aghorebhyo 'tha ghorebhyah*. The forms of Rudra are meant. The tradition is unstable. One ms of MS has two accents, but MS p p takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original. TA has two accents, yet its comm understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed prints it so (but with two accents!). Comm on MahānU, however, takes *ghora* as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra.

manasaspata imañ deva yajñam (KS *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. The variants in AV. 7. 97. 8 and TS. 1. 1. 13 3, 4. 41. 3, have *devēṣu yajñam*, which supports KS in meaning. The separate *deva yajñam* is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm. on VS, but the accentless voc. is indistinguishable from *deva-* as part of a cpd.)

rācaspatē 'chidrayā rācūhidrayā juhvā divi devārdham (ŚŚ *devā rddhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ. °*yant*, TA. *erayasa*, ŚŚ *airayasa*) *svāhā* ŚB TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

§817. In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose.

yajur yuktam (TA.† *yajuryuktam*) *sāmbhir ātakham tvā* (MS. *ṛkta-khamtvā*) MS. TA. Comm. on TA., 'provided with the *yajus*'.

In MS. two accents: 'the *yajus* is joined' or the like.

madhu śaspair (MS. *madhuśaspair*) *na teja indriyam* VS. MS. TB In either case the word *madhu* is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding *bhesajam*, or *śaspair*. MS. p.p. divides *madhu śaspair* as two words; Poona ed. of TB prints it as one, but with two accents! (and against the comm.)

madhu havir (MS. *madhuhavir*) *asi* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. So according to the accents of MS. and TA. Probably MŚ. must be read *madhuhavir* like MS.; Knauer separates the words because of the parallel *hutam havir* in MŚ. 4. 3. 34; but MS. also reads *hutam havir* in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with *madhuhavir*, as one word. Cf. prec.

devabarhiḥ (KS. *deva barhiḥ*) *śatavalśam vi roha* TS. KS. TB ApŚ.: *atas tvam deva vanaspate śatavalśo* (MS *tvam barhiḥ śatavalśam*) *viroha* VS. MS. ŚB. The latter version suggests taking *deva barhiḥ* as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS. The words are voc., so that the accent proves nothing; TS. p.p. takes it as one word. But Poona ed. of TB. prints it as two.

aritarata ro hi kam (TS. *hikam*; so printed also in KS.†) AV. TS. MS. KS.

Comm. on AV. (as also that on TS.) as a single, compound particle.

upa prakṣe (AA. ŚŚ. *upaparakṣe*) *madhumati kṣiyantaḥ* SV. AA. ŚŚ. Svidh. This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two. For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA. Transl., p. 255 n. 7. Keith's text of AA. prints *upa prakṣe* with most mss., but against comm., who understands *upaparakṣe* as a prepositional cpd., 'near the *prakṣa*'. Cf. also the infinitive (?) *upaparakṣe*, RV 5. 47. 6.

namas te rudra rūpebhyo namah MS *namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah* TA MahānU. 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage' 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'

śivā viśvāha bheṣajī (TS °*habheṣajī*, VS °*hā bhe*°, MS °*ha* [p p, °*hā* bheṣajū) VS TS MS KS There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not

devīh (AV *darvīh*, KS *trayīṣ*) *ṣad urvīr* (TS p p *ṣadurvīh*, and so Conc assumes for ApMB HG) *uru nah* (TS ApMB *nah*, KS † *nas*) *hṛnola* RV AV TS KS ApMB HG The words are voc and there are no accents RV and AV p p interpret as two words, which seems more natural No doubt all-texts except possibly the Tait school separate *ṣad urvīr*

deva puraścara saghyāsam (MS *devapuraśc carasa ṛdhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ MS See §147, and §838 MS p p divides *deva* from *punaś* (which it reads by error for *puraś*)

imām su nāvām āruham TS KS ApŚ *sunāvām ā ruheyam* VS (pratīka PG)

pra su (HG. *sa*, read *su*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumarīyam*) *yuyolana* SMB ApMB HG The reading of ApMB is original

apa (AV *ava*) *śveta padā gahī* AV AG ŚG PG ApMB HG *apah śvetapad ā gahī* MG Read *apa śveta padā* in MG, there is no good ground for Kanuer's editing of the text See his note and comm, and our §134

2 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

§818. Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts.

stomatrayastrinše bhuvanasya patnī TS KS AŚ · *stomas trayastrinše bhuvanasya patnī* MS The latter corruptly turns the vocs into nouns, apparently making *stomas* subject and *patnī* predicate, despite the divergence in gender

vāñmanaścaḥśuḥśrotrajihvāghrānaretobuddhyākūṭisamkalpā (TA TAA °*ākūṭih samkalpā*) *me śudhyantām*, TA TAA MahānU See §383 *śarīram yajñāśamalam* (MahānU *yajñāh śa*°) *luśidam tasmin śidatu yo 'smān dveṣṭi* TS KSA TA MahānU The latter is clearly second-

ary, comm makes *śarīram yajñāh* a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body' On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS

gaur dhenubhavyā (HG *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB. HG The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow', but the compound *dhenubhavyā* seems to be the standard expression

tām vidyām brahmayonim svarūpām (VaradapU. *brahmayonisra*) NrpU. VaradapU. 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman', either is possible

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇvojasam (SV *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV. SV. 'Of irresistible strength': 'irresistible in strength'.

mithucarantam (KS *mithū*°, TS. *mithuś car*°, AV *mithuyā car*°) *upayāti* (AV. *abhayāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS MS. KS. There is really no way of deciding the original

agner (TS *devānām*) *agneyāny* (KS *agniyāny*) *asī* TS. MS. KS. One ms and p p of MS *agner agner yāny asī*. Cf *agner yāny asī* TS. MS KS ApŚ MŚ See §357.

devajūte vivasvann āditya te no devāh. MS : *vivasvān aditur devajūts te na ādityā*. . TS . *divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya te no devā* . KS Both parts of the epd are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words.

syonā mānśaterammadah (TS °*terā madah*) TS. MS. KS. The TS. may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural: 'kindly enter into me as food and drink'. But it is probably a lect. fac for the other: 'kindly enter into me as Irām̐mada (Agni, lighting?)'

rtaprajātā (MŚ *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vah syāma* TS MŚ The latter is secondary but intelligible, §641

sarvasmād devakīlbiṣāt (LŚ *eva ki*°, VS. *devakīlv*°) RV. VS MS LŚ. ApŚ . *viśvasmād deva*° AV. MS The LŚ is secondary but sensible, §402

[*āindrāsūrāh* (KSA *āindrāsaurāh*) *śyetalalāmās* (KSA.† *śyāmala*°) *tūparāh* TS KSA Conc quotes KSA as *aindrāh saurāh*]

[*anyavratasya* (TA *anyādvra*°, printed by Conc as *anyad vra*°, the accent proves that it is a epd, tho the comm seems to take it as two words) *saścima* (RV *saścire*, TA *saścimah*, Poona ed. °*ma*) RV VS MS ŚB TA]

§819. In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original.

svāhā yajñam manasah (KS 2 3 *yajñamanasah*) VS MS. KS. †2 3 and

23 5, ŚB. ApŚ KŚ MŚ. A verb like *ā rabhe* is understood, the accus *yajñam* is necessary to the sense, and KS. 2 3 should be so corrected. In 23 5 KS has correctly *yajñam ma°* (not noted in Conc.). '(I take) sacrifice from mind'

māgadhaḥ punścalī kṛtāvah klībo 'śūdrū abrahmanās (VSK *punścalī klīvah kṛtavo 'śūdrābrāhmanās*) *te pīṣṭjāpatyāḥ* VS VSK

śataḥ saraś chandasānuṣṭubhena ApŚ *śatākṣarachandasā jāgadena* Kauś. In Kauś v 1. *śatākṣarah*. The original reading of ApŚ (cf §511) makes the adjective agree with *ayam sruvo* preceding, with change to *śatā°*, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with *chandasā*

dahram (v 1 *daharam*) *vipāpṃmavaraveśmabhūtam* (MahānU *vipāpṃmavaram veśma°*) TA MahānU. The Poona ed. of TA reads *vipāpṃmam varā°*, with v 1 *vipāpṃmavara°*. MahānU also has v 1 *varaveśma°*. The most plausible original seems to be *dahram vipāpṃmam varaveśmabhūtam*. This is stylistically better than *vipāpṃmavara°*, an awkward compound

dadhad ratnam (AŚ *ratnā*) *daḥṣam pītṛbhya* (AŚ. ŚŚ *daḥṣapī°*) *āyur* (AV *āyūrṣi*) AV AŚ ŚŚ. Doubtless AV. is original. The edition of AŚ separates *daḥṣa* from *pī°*, evidently regarding it as a voc. *indrāḥ pāṣena ṣṣiktvā vah* (HG *pāṣena vah ṣṣiktvā*) ApMB HG *indra-pāṣena sītvā* PG. See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG *aślonā* (AV comm *aśro°*) *aṅgair* (TA *°nāṅgair*) *ahrutāḥ* (TA *ahrūtā*, Poona ed *ahrutāḥ*, v 1 *°tā*) *svarge* AV TA. 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs'. AVPPP agrees with TA, but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in PPP, meter indicates that the other version is original

rudra yat te krayā (VS KS *krayī*, VSK *krayī*, MS MŚ *gīrī-*) *param nāma tasmāi* (VS MS ŚB *tasmān*) *hulam aśi* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. See §47

yasya (ApMB *vy asya*) *yonim pratī reto* (ŚG *patireto*) *grhāna* (ŚG *grbhāya*) ŚG ApMB HG *patireto* looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one

śad id yamā (TA *śad udyamā*) *ṛṣayo devajā itī* RV AV TA N. Apparently TA must understand *udyamā* as an adjective

3 A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

§820. In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes

in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form, sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word.

vr̥ṣadyāvānam (ApŚ *vr̥ṣtim devānām*) *amṛtam svarīdam* MS. KS ApŚ

The original of MS KS means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rain-sky, heaven-finding', the sacrifice is referred to. In ApŚ by a lect fac the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc.

parā svapnamukhāḥ śucah AV *parah svapna mukhā kṛdhī* KŚ 'Away the dream-faced pains'. 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances)'. But KŚ may intend a compound.

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB *indrah sūrah prathamo viśvakarmā* AŚ. Comm. on TB takes *indrā sūrā* as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed.), interpreting as nouns sing. But they must surely be acc. dual of a devatā dvandva, object of *janayan*. The whole verse is pretty low bathos. AŚ has a lect fac.

bhuvanam asi sahasrapoṣaṇi (ApŚ *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS. ApŚ 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity': 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity'. Verb form introduced secondarily, cf. next.

agne tvām kāmāyā (SV *tvām kāmāye*) *gīrā* RV. SV. VS. The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song'. By a lect fac SV. introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next. 'O Agni, I desire thee with song'.

revati predhā, *revati yajamāne priyam dhā*, *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata*, see §747.

āre śatrūn (AV † *āreśatrum*) *kṛnuhī sarvavīrah* (AV **ram*) AV TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV., doubtless original 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect fac. The AV. comm. stumbles over the form and understands two words.

ugrampaśyā (MS *ugrām paśyā* 'c, TB *dūrepaśyā*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS TB TA *ugrampaśye ugrojatau tad adya* AV. In this and the next MS is hopelessly corrupt; note accents.

ugrampaśye (MS *ugrām paśyéd*) *rāṣṭrabhṛt kīlbiśānī* AV MS TA. Cf. prec.

āsannīśūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn RV. AV TS MS KSA N. *āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd *āsann-īśūn* 'having arrows in the mouth'. SV means 'carrying water in their mouths'.

mama padyāya vi rāja ApMB . *mayi dohah padyāya virājah* (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG . *mayi padyāya virājo dohah* ŚŚ ŚG PG. The original is *virājah*, gen of *virāj*

[*subhagamkaranī nama* AV : *subhāgam karanam mama* SMB But Jorgensen properly prints SMB *subhāgamkaranam* as one word]

§821. In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original

sarūpa vṛṣann ā gah SV JB.. *sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS In the latter nom. of stem *sarūpavarṣa* (with sandhi peculiar to MS) The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives

pari ghraṇsam omanā (TB *parighraṇsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB *gām*) RV MS. TB N. Hopeless corruption in TB See §828

agnir hotā prthivy antarikṣam AŚ ApŚ *agnihotram prthivīm antarikṣam* MŚ The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding *pāda* *ukhām sravantīm agadām akarma*

pari doṣād udarpiṭhah KŚ . *paritoṣāt tad arpiṭha* ApŚ See §63

mā rudrīyāso abhi gulbadhānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA . *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nuh*) MŚ See §§209, 260, MS has a gross corruption

sahasradhāram vṛṣabham divo dukuh (SV *divoduham*) RV SV Verb form in RV.. 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked' SV 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'

uror ā no (VS ŚB. LŚ *pururāvno*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB LŚ See §371a

4 Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822. In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'), or the reverse The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841-850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater, there is no hard and fast line between them

§823. Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question

apsarasāu anu dattām ṛnām (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA. *apsarasām anudattāṇṛnām* MS (p p. *anu, dattām, ṛnām*) Either the plur *ṛnām*, or the sing *ṛnam* with the pronoun *nah*, is quite satisfactory

vratāni (MS TB ApŚ *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhah* (TB ApŚ ŚŚ ŚG *adābhyah*) MS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG. In MS etc the older or hieratic form *vratā* is patched by the particle *nu*, in the other the alternative form *vratāni* is used

mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt (JB *yono vām hārasīh*) PB JB LŚ Both forms incomprehensible

§824. In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word. Here may be mentioned RV 4 20 9b (also in KS, where there is no evidence as to the division intended), *yayā kṛnoti muhu kā cid ṛṣvāh*, read *muhukā* with Ludwig and Conc, cf Oldenberg, *Noten ad lōc*

jāmum (KS *†camu*) *mā hnsīr amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *ṣayānā* KS. TB.

ApŚ MŚ *mā jāmum moṣīr amuyā ṣayānām* AV Acc to AV comm the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed, *amuyā* is adverbial. The MŚ variant makes *ṣayānā* refer to *jāmum*, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the uttaravedi, so that in general sense it agrees

gaurīr (AV *gaur in*, TB TA *gaurī*) *mimāya sahlāni lakṣatī* RV AV TB AA TA N

dhruvāśah (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV KS TB ApŚ SMB MG

slavāno (VS TS KS ŚB *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS ŚB *dhuyā*) RV. VS TS MS KS ŚB

mā rudrīyāso abhi gulbadhānah (TA *gur vṛdhānah*) MS TA *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss *nūh*) MŚ. Altho the MŚ reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect fac. TA accents wrongly *vṛdhā'nah*, and its comm takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (*vardhamānāh*)! Cf §821

yo rayvo (SV *rayim vo*) *rayintamah* RV. SV. KB ŚŚ ŚG VHDh Benfey ignores the uninterpretable *vo* in his translation, taking *rayim* as accus of specification

ṛṣīnām putro abhiśastipāvā (TB. *°pā ayam*, AV *°pā u*) AV VS ŚB TB. See §740

bhavā ṛṣīnām (AV. *gr°*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV *°pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG See prec

abhūr grṣīnām (ApMB *āpīnām*, HG *āpīnām*, AV mss **v āpīnām*, em wrongly *vaśānām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV *°pā u*) AV HG ApMB See prec but one

ya usriyā apyā (SV *api yā*) *antar āsmanah* (SV °nī) RV. SV. See §785

SV misunderstands and misdivides the epithet *apyā* 'of the waters' *achāyam eli* (KS °yam *yanti*) *śavasā ghṛtena* (AV *ghṛtā cit*, KS *ghṛtācīh*) AV VS. TS MS KS The AV. reading looks secondary to that of KS, which has an adjective agreeing with *śrucah*, the subject of *yanti*; *ghṛtā* can only be construed as an accus. of goal after *eli*, whose subject is Agni

dīvas cid antūd (RV. *antān*) *upamām* (RV. °mān, TA *upa mām*, so AV v 1 adopted by Whitney, and comm.) *ud ānaḥ* RV. SV. AV TA While RV. is of course original, the AV TA reading is not bad: 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me' This should doubtless be read in SV

te brahmalokeṣu (TA °loke *tu*) *parāntakāle* TA. MahānU MundU. KaivU

viprasya dhārayā kavīh RV.: *vīprah sa dhārayā sulaḥ* SV. See §189 *somaḥ sulasya madhvah* RV.: *somaḥ sulaḥ sa madhumān* SV. See §189 *na va śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, others all *śvetasyā-*) AG. PG. ApMB HG MG. Secondary but intelligible reading in AG.; see §188.

ubhāv indrā (ŚB. *indro*) *udītaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB: *aya(h)sthūnam* (°nāv) *udīta* (°lau) *sūryasya* RV. TS MS. KS See §188 *ūrvam gavyām pariśadanto agman* RV. KS. *urvīm gavyām pariśadam* no akran AV.

aganma yatra pratiranta (MG. *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG *sugantuḥ karma karanah karīṣyan* JB.: *sugam tvaḥ karmah karanah karah karasyuh* LŚ See §739.

apa snehitīr (SV. *snihitīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS *†nṛmanā adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS. *upa stuhī tam nṛmnām athadrām* (Poona ed. varies) TA

sam takṣā hanti cakrī vaḥ (HG. *cakrīṇah*) ApMB HG Very obscure passage, HG seems to approach closer to a sensible reading *ṛtena* (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthūnām* (°nāv, °nā) *adhī roha vanśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG MG. Kauś Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā na*', yet that would seem to give better sense than *ṛte va* In any case MG is secondary.

stataj (AV. *stara yaj*) *jyotiḥ abhayam svasti* RV. AV. *grāmyamañḍiradāsakau* ApŚ *grāmyam mañḍiradāsakau* MS. *vyāghram mañḍiradāsa gauḥ* Vait See §49.

§825. In verbal endings (cf §827). *svasti rāye maruto dadhātana* (MG *dadhātu nah*) RV. KS AB MG See VV I p 281

pa su (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *sumarīyam*, MG *prathamam arīni*)
yuyotana (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB ApMB HG. MG
viśvam tu tvāhutayah sarvā . PrānāgU . *viśvantu tvām āhutayaś ca* .
 MU Read *viśantu*, see §371

kriyanta (TB *priyā ta*, so divide) *ā barhih sīda* RV. AV KS TB
dawyā (AV *°vā*) *hotāro* (TS *°rā*, AV *°rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vanī°*, KS
 †*vanuṣan na*, AV *sanuṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV KS *elat*) RV AV TS. KS
asūni cārur (*cārye*, *cāryo*, *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*, HG *bhajā sa*)
jīvan AV. SMB ApMB HG Cf VV I p 96

jātavedo nayā hy (read *nayāsy?*) *enam sukrītām yatra lokah* JB.. *jātavedo*
vahemam (ŚŚ *vahasvainam*) *sukrītām* TA ŚŚ

§826. In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older, a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change:

samudre na (and *°dre na*) *sindhavo yādamānāh* RV (both). Read
samudre na in both, Bloomfield, JAOS 27. 77 ff, RVRep 197;
 Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3 36 7.

twiṣm indre na (MS *indrena*) *bheṣajam* VS MS TB Bathos in either
 case; but MS p p *indre, na*. VS comm says that *na* means *ca*!
spardhanī dhṛyah (*dhṛvāh*) *sūrye na* (SV *sūre na*, TS KSA.† *sūryena*)
viśah RV SV TS KSA Change to *instr* in TS KSA because this
 is the case naturally construed with *spardh-*.

neva mānse na pībasi AV . *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG.: *na mānseṣu na*
snāvasu ApMB Perhaps PG. should be divided *mānse na*; at
 least this is the original reading

samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV AV SV. VS TS KS.. *samsrṣṭāsu*
yutsv indro ganeṣu MS 'This Indra the joiner of battle' 'Indra
 in the joined battles'.

trīni padāni (*padā*) *nahitā guhāsyā* (TA MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV VS TA
 MahānU Pronoun *asya* replaced by loc ending *-su*

māteva putram bībhṛtā sv (VS ŚB *°lāpsv*) *enat* (TS KS *enam*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB The verse is addressed to waters, hence the secondary
 reading *apsu*

idam aham rakṣo °bhī (MS **rakṣobhīh*) *sam ūhāmi* (TS *sam dahāmi*)
 TS MS (bis) KS. MŚ See §383

āvat tam (TA Conc *prāvaritam*, comm and Poona ed. text *āvartam*)
indrah śacyā dhamantam RV AV SV KS TA The sole ms of KS
 also reads *āvartam* (ed emends) TA comm interprets as a gerund
 (*āvṛtya*)

samid dīśām āśayā nah (MS *āśāyānah*) *svarvī* (TS *suvar°*) TS MS

KS AŚ ApŚ Both accent and sense show that no pres mid pple (masc) can be intended, altho MS p p does not divide the word

yajā no (MS *yajāno*) *devo* (TB AŚ ApŚ *devān*) *ajarah suvīrah* MS TB. AŚ ApŚ. *bhāvā no dūto ajarah suvīrah* ŚŚ. ŚG. Again (cf prec) the accent shows that MS p p is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable

vi ca naśan na iṣo arāṭayah RV. *vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arāṭayah* SV Benfey renders SV 'devoured' (root *aś* 'eat', middle pple in passive sense) It is a Verballhornung, the orig itself is rather obscure; *vi-naś* is peculiarly used

yato bhayam abhayam tan (KS 35 1c *ṭabhayatvam*) *no astu* (AV ed *astu*, misprint) AV KS * TB ApŚ MŚ

imam indra vardhaya kṣatryam me (TB *kṣatryānām*) AV TB Kauś *viṣṇūvarunā* (TB *°nāv*) *abhīśastipāvā* (TB *°pā vām*) MS TB Followed by *devā yajanta haviṣā gṛhṇena* 'O V and V, let the 'gods' (TB comm *grvjah*) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc The variant form must be dual, and as MS can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem *°pāva*, or irregularly from *°pāvan*), we assume that TB is orig

bṛhaspataye (MŚ *°pate*) *mahiṣa* (TS *mahiṣad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS MŚ. Comm on AV. agrees with TS, which has the correct reading, see §392

dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV *dātum cec chaknīwānsāh* (so, with double accent, Calc ed) *svarga eṣām* TA For the latter read *chaknāvān* (or better *°vān*) *sá* with Poona ed, see VV I p 165

purastāt (AB *purastā*) *sarve kurmahe* AB ŚŚ See §365

sumutrah soma no (Kauś *sumano*) *bhava* RV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ Kauś

stomo yajñāś ca (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. *°tah*) RV TB See §188

arepasah (ApŚ adds *samokasah*) *cite goh* (SV *citā goh*, ApŚ *cidākoh*) SV AV ApŚ MŚ See §47

turaś cid viśvam ṭarṇaval tapasvān AV. *ḍuraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh* RV

tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam ut RV.: *tvām arbhasya haviṣah samānam ut* SV. KS TB ApŚ

anupūrvam yalamānā yatī śha (AV *stha*, TA *yatiṣha*) RV. AV. TA. See §86

agne vitatam antar ā (LŚ *antaram*) RV VS MS KS TB. LŚ VHDh Assimilation in LŚ to *vitatam*

ā no yāhi (also, *ā yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (MS *jāniṣva*, ŚŚ. *janeṣv ā*) MS. AB AŚ ŚŚ The accent proves MS wrong, it seems to presuppose *janeṣv ā*.

yad ullaradrāv uparāś ca khādatah AV *yad ʔapsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS ApŚ In AV complementary sing after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ 43 110 ff) See VV I p. 270 f

§827. Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf §825)·
srucā juhuta no (ŚŚ *juhutanā*) *havih* TB ŚŚ ApŚ

tiḡmāyudhāya bharatā śrnotu nah (TB *śrnotana*) RV TB N Assimilation of form to the preceding *bharatā* in TB

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG. SMB PG ApMB HG
yathedam strīpautram aganma rudriyāya MG See §801.

āprno 'si samprnah (ApŚ *āprnoṣi samprna*) ŚŚ ApŚ The latter inferior

ramadhvam mā bibhūta mat (Kauś *bibhūta*) AV Kauś

pratno hi (TA. *pratnoṣi*) *kaṃ īdyo adhvaṛeṣu* RV AV TA See §299

5 First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§828. Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary

śūro nṛṣālā śavaśa (SV. MS *śra*°) *cakānah* (SV *ca ʔkāme*) RV. SV. TS
MS Assimilation in SV to the preceding loc *nṛṣālā*: 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'

vasavaś cātṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca AV. *vasuś cētṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca* VS TS. MS KS The bad meter and feeble sense of AV show that it is a corruption of the other, moreover Ppp agrees with the other texts (Barret, JAOS 42 108)

śukrām vayanīy asurāya nṛnījam RV. *śukrā vi yanti asurāya nṛnīje* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura'· 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura'.
nadāyor vīratayoh śūra indrah RV *na devo vṛtah śūra indrah* SV The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV seem to be Indra's horses, lect fac in SV

asūrte (MS KS °tā) *sūrte rajasi nīṣatte* (MS. °tā; KS *na sattā*) RV VS
MS KS N. *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vīmāne* TS Here *na* seems to be the comparative particle, it is of course secondary

aryo naśanta (SV *naḥ santu*) *saṃśanta* (SV. †°tu) *no dhīyah* RV SV.

Again a lect fac in SV (*santu* taken with preceding, 'devoured
be our foes').

ūrjam bibhrad vasumanāh (VS LŚ ŚG ApŚ **vah sumanāh*, ApŚ **vah
suvanāh*, ApŚ **vasumanāh*) *sumedhāh* AV. VS KS. LŚ. ApŚ (thrice)
ŚG. HG See §227

ailabrdā (MS **mṛdā*, KS *ardamṛdā*) *yavyudhah* (VS *āyuryudhah*,
MS *vo yudhah*) VS. TS MS KS See §241

pari ghraṁsam omanā (TB *parighransa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāl* (TB.
gām) RV MS TB N. The original 'he shall go thru the heat by
your aid unto strength' Corruption in TB

dame-dame sustutya (TS **tir*, MS. **ti*, AŚ. ŚŚ **ti*) *vāvṛdhānā* (AV
**nav*, AŚ ŚŚ. *vām iyanā*) AV TS MS KS. AŚ ŚŚ. See §236

amanmahīd anāśavah (PB **hī tad āśavah*) RV AV PB

brāhmanebhyo 'bhyanuṇātā (MahānU *hy anu*°) TA MahānU.

tam ahve (SV *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV

tīlvilā (misprinted *tīvalā*) *stām irāvatīm* AG. *tīlvilā sthūjirāvatī* ŚG.
tīlvilā sthīrāvatī MG *tīlvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB A desperate
passage, all forms corrupt Oldenberg (on ŚG, p. 144) suggests
something like *sthāvarāvatī* for the original In ApMB a mistaken
rationalization, a third person verb is out of place here, since there
is a direct address

[*pra yah satrācā* (TB. Conc *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB **ta*) RV. TB
But Poona ed of TB text and comm *satrācā*]

§229. In the rest the form with two words seems to be the original:
adyā mamāra sa hyah samāna (MS *sahyah samānah*; p p *sah, hyah,
sam, āna*) RV AV SV MS TA N The MS makes no sense,
and its p p gives the true reading

yas tā vijānāt (TA * MahānU *yas tad veda*, AV.* VS *yas tāni veda*) *sa
pituṣ* (VS. MahānU *pituh*, TA *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV AV VS TA
MahānU N See §198

sa dahan (GB *sadanān*) *pradahan nu* (GB *v*) *agāh* GB Vait One ms
of Vait has the same absurd reading as GB

sā prasūr (ŚG *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG **gā*) *bhava* AV ŚG ApMB. HG
garbhe (MS **bhah*) *sañ* (VS ŚB *san*, KS MS *sam*°) *jāyase punah*
RV VS TS MS KS ŚB But it is likely that MS KS really
intend *san* (MS p p)

sa eva jāyate (T' MahānU *sa vijāyamānah*) *sa janīṣyamānah* VS TA.
MahānU ŚvetU ŚrisU.

svasūra āpo abhi gā ulāsaran (SV *udā*°) RV SV See §60

agne yāhi dūtyam mā īṣanyah (TB **yam vāriṣanyah*) RV MS TB AŚ.
See §225.

tan mā jinvā TS MS *tan mārjivā* KS. See §354. KS probably secondary

amum ma iṣāna, and *sarvalokam ma iṣāna* VS. *amum maṇiṣāna*, and *sarvam maṇiṣāna* TA The form *iṣāna* can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchatī* 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)',... 'every world'. TA has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending *āna*!), as if from the aorist of root *man*, comm *prayaccha*

ā samudrā (KS *ā sm̐n ugrā*, TS ApŚ *āsm̐nn ugrā*) *acucyavuh* TS MS. KS ApŚ Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS seems clearly secondary

apām na yantī (SV *apo nayanta*) *ūrmayah* RV. SV. 'Lake streams of water go (the somas)' '(the somas) lead on the waters'.

upākṛtam śaśamānam yad asthāt (MŚ *sadhassthāt*, v 1 *sad asthāt*) AV. TS MŚ MŚ If *sadhassthāt* is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on *upākṛtam*

pariṣṭāh kṣeṣyasi ApMB · *pariṣṭāh kṣeṣyasi* HG The true reading is *kva iṣyasi*, or more properly *eṣyasi*, 'whither wilt thou go?' The HG. has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root *kṣ* (thinking of *kṣi*).

6. Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

§830. Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa; often with further changes. We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original:

tad vipro abravīd udak (ŚŚ *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ See §65

ava (RV *abh*, MS *ā vah* [text *vah* preceded by *hamṣā*], VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛṣāmasi*, VS ŚB *avanayāmi*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

sanvan (KŚ *sa tvam*) *sanm suvinucā vimuñca* KŚ ŚŚ ApŚ The secondary KŚ reading may be graphic

yamasya dūtāh śvapād vidhāvasi TA *yamasya dūtāś ca vāg vidhāvati* MS See §145

salyam (SV ApŚ *sa tvam*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed asi* RV. SV. ApŚ

irām u ha (AV *aha*) *praśansati* AV ŚŚ ŚG.

pra na (SV *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV *tu nah*) RV SV

samyak (TS MS TAA ApŚ * MŚ *sam it*, KS * *sarāt*) *sravanti sarito*

(TAA Conc °lā, Poona ed. text and comm °lo) *na dhenāh* RV VS. TS MS KS * ŠB TAA KŚ ApŚ * MŚ The second reading of KS, *earit*, tho given by all mss, is evidently a mistake for *sam it*, which is secondary to *samyak*.

nyañ (AV *n yan*) *nī yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV °līm) RV. AV. KS *tarī mandrūsu prayalṣu* AV · *sa im* (TS ī) *mandrū suprayasah* (TS *mandrūsu prayasah*, MS *mandrū suprayasā śarīman*) VS TS MS : *śanī mandras suprayalṣuh* KS As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt, but *sa im* (ī) looks like a secondary lect fac for some single word (as in AV. KS)

§831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original.

idam ta eham para ū ta (TB ApŚ, but not KS, *uta*) *eham* RV AV SV. KS † TB TA. AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Comm on TB *uta*, *api ca*, but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (*uta eham*, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was *u ta* (ic).

sa tū (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārīne na pra yansat* RV SV 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer' 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer'. The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV.

kavir yah putrah sa im ā (TA Conc *sā imāh*, Poona ed text and comm *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA N Comm on TA *imā*, *clāni dṛṣya-mānāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni*

vidyām yām u ca (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi* AB ŚŚ.

ā yañ (MS MŚ *āyan*) *narah sudānavo dadāṣuḥ* RV TS MS KS AŚ MŚ The corruption of MS is indicated by the fact that the verb *dadacyavulḥ* in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent

ku ṣṭhah ko vām aśvinā SV.: *kūṣṭho devāv aśvinā* RV. It is universally recognized that RV. must be read *kū ṣṭho*

utem (SV. *ūtīm*) *arbhē havāmahe* RV AV. SV. MS *ula-īm- ūtīm*, 'aid' *mañi no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV : *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV *ā tūā* (AV. *emām*, ŚG *enam*) *parisrutah* (AG °*sritah*, MG °*ṣṛtah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB †*kumbhāh*, ŚG *kumbhyā*) AV AG. ŚG PG. ApMB MG.

tre ā (SV. *trayā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasah* RV SV Note resolution of *e* to *ay* *śahpatir yadī vrāhe* SV.: *svarpatim yad im vrāhe* RV. AV

sarvah sarvā vi carati prajānan MS : *sa vah sarvāh sañ carati prajānan* AV The MS p p *sah*, *sarvāh*; in the saṃhitā text stupid assimilation to the following word

yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuam yatra vāsah*) AV.
ApMB *yatrā vrkṣas tanuam yatra vāsah* HG. Probably *yac ca*
of AV is original and *yatra* due to assimilation to the preceding
yatrā

[*ā twam* (GB *ālmam*, but Gaastra correctly *ā twam*; LŚ *ā svam*) *indrāya
pyāyasva* VS TS MS KS AB GB ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ]

[*name tad upadambhiṣar* MS MŚ *na ma idam upadambhiṣag*
ApŚ We must read *nā me* in MS MŚ, there is no p p here, and
nāme is simply bad editing]

[*vi gā indra vicaran spāśayasva* TA ApŚ In TA. text printed *vi gā*,
but both syllables accented, clearly *vi gā(h)* is intended, so comm]

7 Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more shorter words, and vice versa

§832. We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more
than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more
shorter words, or vice versa Excluded are divisions of compounds into
parts, which have been treated above First come cases in which the
longer word is original

bahm icchanto vitudasya (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v 1 *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (Ma-
hānU AG *preṣṭhāh*) TAA MahānU AG See §65

upānasah ṭsaparyan RV *upo nu sa saparyan* SV Indra is meant,
SV has obvious earmarks of secondariness

yad indra citra mehanā (SV PB *ma iha na*) RV SV. PB AŚ ŚŚ N
As in the preceding, a rather obscure word (*mehanā*, adv) is broken
up into a series of harmless particles in SV.

na me (so read, §831) *tad upadambhiṣar* .. MS MŚ *na ma idam
upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udam bhiṣag*). ApŚ A simple
and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint

mā (AG MG *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavah* (MG. *adyāyavah*) AG ŚG
ApMB MG See §868

akṣānām vagnum (AV em *ganam*, true reading probably *gatnum* with
SPP, see Whitney's note, MS *ṭvagnum*) *upaṣiṅghnamānāh* (AV
upaḥṣamānāh, MS *avaṣiṅghram āpah*) AV MS TB TA The
MS is corrupt, its p p, yet worse *akṣnā*, *avagmam ity ava-gmam*,
avaṣiṅghram ity ava-ṣiṅghram, *āpah* But the original is obscure
enough

viśvā amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣibhih (KS °*ṣebhyah*) AV. KS *viśvā
āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣir bhīyah* VS TS : *vy amīvāh pramuñcan
mānuṣānām* MS Evidently VS TS are secondary, tho inter-
pretable, cf §783

yasya te vīśvamānuṣaḥ (SV. *vīśvam ānuṣaḥ*) RV AV SV It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV reading distorted in SV. into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret See Benfey's note in Translation, p 259

anvādidyāthām iha nah sakhāyā TB TA *manmā dīdhyanā utā nah sakhāyā* MS. The latter seems clearly corrupt, p p *dīdhyanām*, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means: 'make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuna)'.

yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV AV TA The AV. comm., followed by SPP and Whitney's Transl., reads *pradhāvati*, correctly

tvam no devatātaye (AV *deva dātave*) RV AV SV- See §61.

prathamāya januṣe bhūmanēsthāh (AV *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ. *bhūma neṣṭhan*;) AV. AŚ ŚŚ If ŚŚ intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world' Obscure

yajñāh pratyāsthāt (v 1 *praty u śthāt*) KS. *yajñāh praty u śthāt* (v 1 *pratyāsthāt*).. MS. *yajña pratīṣṭha* TB ApS

apāmityam (AŚ *apām iltam*) *iva sambhara* MS KS AŚ A graphic error in AŚ

ubhe yatele ubhayasya (AV *ubhe asya*) *puṣyatah* RV. AV Cf next *ubhe id asyobhayasya* (AV *asyobhe asya*) *rājalah* RV AV In same verse as prec.; here Whitney adopts the RV reading See §911

§833. Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary:

ava tara (TS *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS MS KS ŚB. *avattaro nadīnām* AV *ava tara* 'descend in the rivers' is original, in TS AV there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied. The double *t* is suspicious (cf §401), BR take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root *av*, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS AV) Keith rejects the comm. and connects with *ava*, while Whitney follows the tradition MS p p *avattaram*

prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvīr (SV *prāntarikṣāt sthāvīrīs te*) *asṛṣata* RV SV *pra dhārā yantu madhunah* AB *pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya* AG (corrupt, abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading)

dyusamantasya ta ādityo 'nukhyātā BDh *dyavah samā tasyāditya upadrasā* HG The BDh reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG, which is typical stylistically —The next two variants are in the same passage

antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaśrotā BDh. *antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upadrasā* HG As prec

prthvisamantasya te 'gnir upadrasṭā BDh.: *prthvī samā tasyāgnir upadrasṭā* ... HG. See prec two

sutarasī tarase (MahānU. *sutarasiddhatarase*) *namah* RVKh. TA MahānU The latter has a *v* *l* like the others, but its comm reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler *Sutarasī* is voc sing fem, and *tarase* an infinitive

ṣīte vāle punann wa (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait, most mss of ŚŚ, and *v* *l* of KSA *punarniva*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB. AŚ. ŚŚ Vait LŚ Doubtless a graphic corruption, but its wide spread is curious

antarā dyāvāprthivī apah suvah TB ApMB HG *antarā dyāvāprthivyor apasyuh* MG Is *apasyuh* understood as *apa-syuh*, from *apa-as* 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom-sing. of *apasyu*. In any case it is secondary.

anupauhvaḍ anupahvayet HG : *anu po 'hvaḍ anuhwayah* ApMB. See §732

yajñapatalaye (ŚŚ adds *vasu*; TA *yajamānāya*) *vāryam ā svas kṣh* (TA. *ā suvas kar asmar*, ŚŚ *āsamskarase*) MS TA ŚŚ The latter secondary

tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāh AV : *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāh* AB AŚ. The AV. is probably original. See §254.

ayam sahasram ānavo dṛśah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma (ApŚ °mā) SV. ApŚ. MŚ : *ayam sahasram ā no dṛśe . vidharmanī* AV. Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV. reading *sahasramānavo* as one compound word, against the accents: 'der tausendbewachende'. Probably AV is original, tho it too is not very sensible

agnir hotrenedam (*hotrena*, *agnihotrenedam*) *havr* . ., see §354

vande dārum vandamāno vivakmī RV : *vandadvārā vandamānā vvaṣṭu* SV On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p 218

8 Different divisions of two or more independent words

§834. Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant They fall into three subdivisions Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another, sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835. We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older; we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case.

avakraṣṇam vṛṣabham yathāguram (SV *yathā juvam*) RV AV SV.
ajuram 'ageless', *juvam* 'swift'

na mānsam aśi nodalam (HG *no dalam*) ApMB HG. If the division is so intended, HG must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment'. The comm. on ApMB (Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxiv) takes *nóddalam* for *ná-udāram*, 'nor a (part of the) belly'.

ya ājagma (N °*muh*) *savanemā* (TS KS *savanedam*, N *savanam idam*, VS MS ŚB *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāh* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N. Conc. suggests *savanemā* (*savanā-īmā*) for AV, and Whitney notes that the AV text (p. p. *sāvine, mā*) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'.

samīdhyamānah prathamānu ṛdharmā (TB ApŚ *prathamo nu dharmah*) RV TB ApŚ. The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms *prathamā dharmā* (neut. plur., of RV 'According to ancient ordinances' 'as the very first law').

prasthāyendragñibhyām somam vocatopo (KB *vocalo yo*) *asmān brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇā hwayadhvam* KB AŚ ŚŚ. As Keith says in his Transl., KB must be read *vocatopo*. A graphic corruption *juhvā pavitram asvināsan* (TB °*nā sam*) *sarasvatī* VS MS KS TB. The original, of which TB is an uncomprehending corruption, contains *āsan* 'in his mouth'.

viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṇ juhomi TS GB Vait ApŚ *viśloka viśvadāvye tvā samjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. Precisely like the pree, except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible *gāra uparatāvatam* (SV *upa vadāvate*) PV SV. See §60.

yatrāsprīḥat tanvo yac ca vāsasah (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV.

ApMB . *yatrā vṛḥsas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG The latter corrupt; see §198

ṛdhag (RV AV *dhruvam*) *ayā* (AV. *ayo*, TS MS. KS *ayād*) *ṛdhag* (RV AV *dhruvam*) *utāsamīṣṭhāh* (MS KS °ṣṭa, AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB N. See §234

yat tvemahe (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS MS Kauś SMB. PG ApMB Original has *tvā-imahe* SMB comm alternatively takes *mahe* as a verb, *pūjayāmi*, or as a noun, *utsave*, supplying *pūjādīkam karma* with *yat*. All mss agree on it

āśum tvājaru (ApŚ *ākhum tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantah* KS ApŚ MŚ *harīśmaśrum na varmanā dhanarcim* SV.: *hriśmaśrum nārvaṇam dhanarcam* RV

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota samdṛk* (KS *paramo na samvṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS. N. Graphic change in KS, §871 *hotā viṣṭimena* (ŚŚ *viṣṭvī me*) *jaritar* AV AŚ ŚŚ Vait See §367.

tenemām upa sñcatam RV. AV. TA N *tena mām abhiṣñcatam* ŚŚ SMB Different contexts, *mām* or *mām*.

tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam AV. *tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam* (MS °yā *mām*) TS MS KS *imam* or *mām*

pīveva putram jarase nayemam (MS *ma emam*) MS. KS ApMB. HG. The corruption of MS is indicated by its p p : *jarasera*. ā, *imam*, pointing to the other reading

yaded (KS *ād id*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS *adadṛnh*°) *pūrve* RV VS TS MS. KS

yenākṣā (SMB °kṣān, PG °kṣyāv, ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB *abhyaṣñcatam*, PG °tām) AV. ŚŚ SMB. PG For the original 'dice' ŚŚ. lamely substitutes 'earth'.

[*twayāvasena* (ŚG text *twayā jvasena*) *sam aśimahi tvā* TS KS TB AŚ MŚ Kauś ŚG. SMB PG The ŚG seems to be a misprint]

§836. We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words, the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary

yadārāghatī (read *yadā rā*°) *varadah* Vait.. *yadā rākhālyau vadatah* ApŚ *yad adyārādhyam vadantah* MŚ See §70

praty eva (ŚŚ *pra tveva*, i e *tvā-ivā*) *grbhāyata* AV AB GB JB ŚŚ

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyānśum* (ApŚ °śunā) KS ApŚ

But KS ed prints the ApŚ reading, with v l °rādīd *śrutakalakṣo aram* (SV °lakṣāram) *gave* RV SV Nom voc

vīhi svām āhutam juṣāno manasā AV : *vīhi svāhāhutam juṣānah* TS. TĪ
The ritualistic exclamation *svāhā* is always allowable, but is here secondary

viśvasmar bhūtāyādhwaro (KS MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruva*) *astu devāh* (15
°*dhvaro 'si*) TS KS. ApŚ MŚ *adhvara dhruva*, it is not certain that the latter is more original

mā na āyuh param acaram mānadonah MS *mā nah param adharam*
mā rajo 'nah (MŚ †*param adhanam mā rajo nah*) TA. MŚ The MS is corrupt, and its p p is worse *mā, anat, ā, unah*! Cf VV p 93

ā māśiṣo (or *ām āśiṣo*, so MS understands) *dohakāmāh* MS KS *emā agmann āśiṣo dohakāmāh* TS ApŚ. It is possible that KS also intends *ām* (interjection) *āśiṣo* It seems that TS ApŚ (*ā-mās*) have a lect fac.

[*ātmāsy ālmann ātmānam* (GB *ālmanātmānam*, but Gaastra as the others) *me mā hnsih* GB Vait Kauś]

(b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another

§837. Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another This process may be illustrated within the RV itself, in the pāda traditionally recorded as *agner avena marutām na bhogyā*, 1 128 5b Here we must surely read *agne ravena*, see Conc and Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* I 127 This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, *Noten*, has some slight doubts Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for *nybhr yad yukto vive rapānsi*, RV 1 69 8, we must read *viver apānsi*, and for *muṣāyaś cakram avive rapānsi*, RV 6. 31 3, *aviver apānsi* Also in AV 6 116 1a, *yad yāman cakrur nikhantato agre*, read probably *yady āman*; see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17 428, *SBE* 42 457, and Whitney *ad loc* *āsann ā* (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °*tu*) *devāh* RV SV VS TS MS KS PB ŚB

madhu reto (TS *madhor ato*, KS †*madhur ato*, AŚ text printed *madhu-reto*) *mādhavaḥ pātu asmān* TS MS KS AŚ Keith on TS thinks the KS reading is correct He calls the MS 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula; *madhu* and *reto* might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object But the MS p p reads *madhuh, amlah*, pointing towards the KS reading

revati ramadhvam, revatir amedhyam, see §255

ā māśiṣo (MS text *ām āśiṣo*) *dohakāmāh* MS KS And others; see §836 MS and KS. may intend the same reading
agor arir ā ciketa RV *nāgo rayir ā ciketa* SV. Benfey understands *na-ago(s)*, from *agu* 'nicht preisend' = 'bos' Doubtful, the SV is hardly interpretable
ubhayor ārtnyor (TS *ārtnyor*, NilarU. *ubhayo rājñor*) *jyām* VS TS MS KS NilarU. An absurd corruption in the last; it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm calmly takes it
satyād ā (ApŚ *satyā tā*) *dharmanas patī* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, and so mss of MŚ, Vait MŚ *pari*, ŚŚ omits *patī*) AŚ ŚŚ. Vait ApŚ MŚ.
purovāto varṣaṇ jinvār āvrt svāhā TS ApŚ : *purovāta* (KS °lo) *jinvā rāvaṭ* (KS °vat) *svāhā* MS KS And other formulas in same passage, see §168 TS is secondary
yam asvinā namucer āsurād adhī (ŚŚ *ṇamucāv āsure dadhī*) VS MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ. Followed by: *sarasvaty asunod mdrī-yāya* Some verb, probably a form of *su*, is understood 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait entnahmen) from the asuric N' ŚŚ is secondary and poor, *dadhī* 'sour milk' conceals *adhī*, to which is affixed the *d* of the abl which preceded in the original form For the myth in question see Bloomfield, JAOS 15 144-63

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

§838. In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in:
śatāpāṣīhādyā (read with Poona ed of both °*hā gha*) *viṣā pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇah* MS (corrupt)
pītā bhāsvaty anūpamā TA *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU In MahānU a v l agrees with TA but for *anūp°*, but the comm keeps to the text as printed He explains *pītābhā* by *pītāvarṇā*, and *tanūpamā* by *sūkṣmenopamāyate kundalīnīti yām naigamā āhuh* The TA makes *pītā bhāsvatī* = *pītāvarṇā*, and *anūpamā* is explained by *laukikānām tanūnām sūkṣmavastūnām upamā bhavītum yogyā*
acikradat svapā iha bhuvat AV *adidyudat sv apāko vibhāvā* RV MS Whitney says the AV has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading Ppp *bhavat* for *bhuvat* (§602).
deva puraścara saghyāsam (MS *devapuraś carasa rdyhyāsam*) *tvā* MS TA ApŚ The MS. is corrupt p p *deva*, *punar iti punah*, *carase* See §817.

dvīṣas taradhyā (ApŚ. °yā) *ṛnayā na īyase* (SV *īrase*) RV SV KS. AB
ApŚ. *dvīṣas tad adhy arnavaneyase* AV 'A simple corruption'
(Whitney) in AV

ṛlasyartena mām uta (TA *ita*) TB TA · *ṛlāsya tv enam ā'mūtah* MS
(p p *tū, enam, mā'm, utām ma*, in part pointing to the TB reading).

MS is corrupt, in TB. supply *muñcata* from preceding *pāda*
graha viśvajantīna nyantar viprāyāma te (MS p p *viprāya, 'mate*, KS
nyantar vipra ā ṛsatī) MS KS

§839. In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* as locative ending

made suśīpram (SV *madeṣu śīpram*) *andhasah* RV. SV

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV *sa im* (TS *i*) *mandrā suprayasah* (MS
°sā *starīman*, TS *mandrāsu prayasah*) VS TS MS *stanī mandras*
suprayakṣuh KS

mandūky apsu śam bhuvah AV.: *mandūkyā su sam ṛgamah* (TA *gamaya*)
RV. TA The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to
the secondary reading of AV

§840. The rest hardly need classification

yas te soma praṇavat so 'bhi so aham MahānU *yās te soma praṇa vatso*
'bhi so aham TA Both are obscure, and the far-fetched inter-
pretations of the comms give little help For instance, the TA
comm explains *soma* as *sa + uma*, from *umā = brahmavidyā*,
so that *soma = paramātman*!

viśvakarman bhavāna mām didāsiha (ŚB *manda āsiha*) AB ŚB ŚŚ.
didāsiha is taken as a desiderative from *dā* 'O V Bh, thou didst
seek to give me (the earth) away': 'thou wast slow of wit (so
bomm, *mandamatih*)' Either meaning is possible

bhrātāntarikṣam abhiśastyā nah (TA *abhiśasta enah*) AV TA Comm
on TA *yad eno 'smābhūh kṛtam tad abhiśastah śatrusthānīyam*!
It would be better to understand *abhiśaste*, 'upon the accursed one
(may) the sin (light)'. Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV
samudrād udajanī vah (ApŚ *udacann wa*) *sruvā* MS ApŚ The ApŚ.
reading seems better

yā sanjayantam adhī yāsu vardhase KS *āśum jayantam anu yāsu*
vardhase RV VS TS MS ŚB

mānasya palni śaranā syonā AV *mā nah sapatnah śaranah syonā*
HG See §189

jyeṣṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anīle SV *jyeṣṭhasya vā dharmani kṣor*
anīle RV. The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for
dyukṣayor, from *dyukṣu*

- brahmādhiguptah* (PG *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāni* (PG. *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svārākṣānah*, most mss. *svārā-rakṣānah*) *svāhā* AG PG. MG. The original is probably AG, see §742 PG has a simple lect fac, MG is corrupt
- yena bhūyaś ca rātryām* (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG *caraty ayam*, PG *bhūriś carā dvam*) AG PG ApMB MG See §61
- sarasvatyaḥ vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vāc va' 'urye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS VSK ŚB Corruption in VSñ
- āyuhpati rathamīram* (MŚ *āyuh pratiratham*°) *tad aṣṭya*. ApŚ MŚ. Caland would read °*patī* (nom) in ApŚ, and observes that MŚ is yet more corrupt
- ud vanśam va yemire* RV SV TS KB N. *ūrdhvam kham va menire* Mbh
- hī atvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim* uta SV
- ruvad dhokṣā* (TB *ṇvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaṇh* RV. MS AB. KB TB See §684
- prath. achad* (KS *parama*°) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV VS TS MS KS Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen depending on *vara* (*vare*) The result is close to nonsense
- ā devo yāti bhuvanān paśyan* (TS MS *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV VS TS MS
- tena samhanu kṛnmasi* AV. *tena sann anugrhnāsi* HG See §47.
- pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS °*mad ābharan*) VS. MS TB. Either makes good sense
- ahorātre ūrvaṣṭve* (VS °*ṣṭhīve*, TS *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *brhadrathamīlare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS *†kalpantām*) VS TS MS Cf §803, TS secondary.
- pumānsam vardhatām mayi* ŚG. *pumān samvartatām mayi* PG. *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB See §97 Despite the Conc, ŚG is quite correct, and may well be the original reading
- jāmum itvā mā vivīṣe lokān* TA *jāmum itvā māva patsi lokāt* AV See §198
- hranyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS ApŚ
- ulem anannamuh* (KB ŚB ŚŚ KŚ. *uteva nam*°) TS MS AB KB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MS
- athem ava sya vara ā prthivyāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ MŚ. *athemam asyā vara ā prthivyāh* AV See §236
- ulānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah* (TB *vicāyah*) RV MS TB N. See §254

anūdā yadī jījanad (SV. *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV SV.

pra su (HG *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB *pra sumartyam*, MG *prathamam artum*) *yuyolana* (MG *yuyotu nah*) SMB. ApMB. HG MG. The last is secondary.

yaśasendrābrhaspatī (ArS *yaśo mendrā*) ArS. PG MG Graphic change

dyumatāmā supratikasya sūnoh (AV *ūlakah sasūnuh*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB See §189

dhīyā martah śasamate (SV. *martasya śamatah*) RV SV See §189

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vīdat (MG. *rīṣat*, most mss *rīṣak*) PG MG *yaśo bhagasya vīdatu* ArS See §189.

yunaṣmi tisro vipracah sūryasya te (MŚ *viṛtah sūryah save*, or *savah*) TS ApŚ MŚ. See §189

pragāyāmasy agratah PG ApMB *pragāyāmy asyāgratah* MG *prajāyāmasy agratah* HG *asya* in MG is to be taken in a cosmic sense, it is of course secondary

yamasya loke adhiraṣṣur āyat (TA *āya*, MS *loke nidhir aṣarāya*) AV MS TA Whitney describes the MS as a 'corrupt guess'

māyādevā avalaran HG.. *adevā devavallaram* ApMB See §401

ā gharṇo agnīm rīṣayann asādī (TA *asādī*) RV TA. *ā gharṇo agnir amṛto na sādī* MS The latter is of course secondary

adhā syāma surabhayo (ApŚ *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. KS ApŚ *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS The ApŚ is worthless; Caland tacitly adopts the other reading

[*isur nāvīrastāram* ŚŚ *iṣum na vīro astā* AV RWh. by emendation, but mss as ŚŚ except for *iṣum*]

[*pātam mā dyōvāprthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś text *aghān nah*) TS ApŚ Kaus Read *adyāhnaḥ* in Kauś, cf critical note, p 295, n 4 of ed In the reading quoted for ms *Bū hna* should be read for *dna*]

9. Patch-words

§841. In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822-31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte, Luckenbusser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have

made as absolute. Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above. At least they all belong in the same chapter

§842. For instance, in a pāda like

syonam patye (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV. *kṛnu tvam*) RV.

AV SMB ApMB MG. N ,

it is clear that AV has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun *tvam*. There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables *tvam* and *-sva*. This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

ni no rayim subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuweha*) RV VS TS. MS KS , where TS likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb *iha*. And in a pāda like

āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (MG. *te sadā*) MG. YDh ,

it would obviously be impossible to speak of 'false division', since *sarvadā*, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into *te sadā*, rather, the synonym *sadā* is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word *te*. If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG, the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same.

§843. Prevailingly these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples. The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective. This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word.

agnim (SV *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* RV SV. In RV *śreṣṭha-* constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p. 51). The SV has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless *u*.

viṣe viṣam aprkthāh (*apṛāḡ api*) AV (both). The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original.

yatah sūrya udeh AV *yataś codet sūryah* ŚB. BrhU KaṭhaU. 14. 9a *āsūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS MS KS. *āsūn va suyamān ahva ūtaye*

AV. Here the longer form of AV may be original, at least it is better not only metrically but in sense.

§844. There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter. In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word:

tasmar no (AV *mā*) *devāh paridatteha* (AV PG °*dhatteha*, KS MŚ °*dhatta*) *sarve* (MŚ *vīśve*) AV. TS KS MŚ SMB PG BDh

Even the KS MŚ form, lacking *iha*, is not really good in meter

§845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter

śatena pāśar varunābhi dhehi KS : *śatena pāśar abhi dhehi varunainam*

AV The reading of Ppp (Barret, JAOS 37 298) is that of KS, and this is doubtless original

tam aham punar ādade KŚ. PG ° *imam tam punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham, as Kirste suggests) HG

tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛnuta praśastam (AV *kṛnuh supraśastam*) RV AV

The superfluous *su* is ignored by AV Anukramanī and omitted in Ppp (Barret, JAOS 41 266)

§846. Once SV omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV, thereby spoiling the meter, the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form *sutāsah* (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of *ime* leaves it too short
tubhyam somāḥ sutā ime RV *tubhyam sutāsah somāḥ* SV

§847. Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following

anumate 'nu idam manyasva AV : *anumate 'nu* (KapS *janu*) *manyasva na idam* KS. Cf *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG KhG HG ApG

apām napātām aśvīnā huve dhīyā (TS *ṛhayantam*) AV. TS The mss of AV read *aśvīnā* (accented) and *dhīyah*. Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss, but both are metrically correct
See Whitney's and Keith's notes

§848. In the next AV by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV, and to save the meter omits the light word *u*:

agnir vdvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV Kauś *sa id dhotā*) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB See §996

§849 In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary, they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group

imam (AV. **tam u*) *me agadam kṛta* (AV *kṛdhi*) RV AV * VS TS
anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*, most mss *yajeha*) TS MŚ
tam manyeta (ViDh *tam vaḥ manyet*) *pīṭaram māṭaram ca* Samhitopani-
ṣadB VāDh ViDh

asmān (AV *sā nah*) *sīte payasābhyāvartsva* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

- upa yaṅnam asthata* (MŚ *astu no*) *varśvadevī* RVKh AV. ApŚ MŚ
apasedhan (SV † °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV SV
 See VV I §194 In RV *r* in *mṛdaya* is long, in SV. it was pronounced short, and the change with insertion of *no* is intended to improve the meter
- marutām pītas tad aham grṇāmi* (MS *grṇe te*) TS MS *marutām pītar uta tad grṇmah* KS
- tasya doham aśimahi* (KS *aśiya*, AŚ *aśiya te*) VS MS KS TB ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ In KS prose
- tvaṣṭā sudatro* (TA *no atra*) *vi dadhātu rāyah* RV VS MS KS ŚB TA ŚŚ N
- sa nah pīto madhumān ā viśeḥa* (Kauś *viśeḥa*) KS Kauś *sa no mayobhūh pītav* (TS TB *pīto*, MŚ *pītur*, SMB Jorgensen *pītav*) *āviśasva* (AŚ *āviśeḥa*, MŚ *āviśeḥa*) TS TB AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG
- aṅgīrobhūr ā gahī yaṅṅyebhūh* RV TS MS *aṅgīrobhūr yaṅṅyair āgahīha* AV
- dadhad ratnāni* (RV *once ratnā vi*) *dāśuḥ* RV (thrice) SV VS TS MS KS TB *dhattam ratnāni dāśuḥ* RV *dadhad ratnā dāśuḥ vāry-āni* RV VS
- tvīṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu* AV *tvīṣir aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu* TB The Ppp agrees with TB (Barret, JAOS 30 204)
- anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu* (AV *grham nah*) RV AV MG The Ppp according to Roth agrees with RV., and the AV text makes poor sense as Whitney observes
- abhūn mama* (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS KS PG.
- ahnā yad enah kṛtam aśi pāpam* (AŚ *aśi kimcūt*, ŚŚ *enaś cakṛmeha kṛincūt*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB
- edam barhūr ni śīdata* (AŚ ŚŚ *śīda nah*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Change of context in AŚ ŚŚ requires a singular verb, and the pāda is neatly patched with *nah*
- devebhyo havyam* (MS MŚ MG *havyā*) *vahatu* (TB * AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ *vaha nah*, Kauś **vaha*) *prayānan* RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB * AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś * MG In one form Kauś is unmetrical, lacking *nah*
- pra tad voced amṛtasya* (VS *amṛtam nu*, TA MahānU *voce amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV VS TA MahānU
- vīryebhūr* (MS *vīrebhūr*, AV *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci*°, Poona ed *śavi*°) AV VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
- punantu viśvā bhūtāni* (MS *bhūtā mā*) AV VS MS KS Is the MS. reading a reminiscence of *viśve devāḥ punīta mā*, which is the RV. form of this pāda?

śatam pavitrā vītatā hy (MS *vītatāny*) *āsu* MS ApŚ ApMB Un-
doubtedly MS is original, form assimilation to *pavitrā* in the others
hwayāmi (AV. SV. TS MS. *huve nu*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV AV
SV. MS VS TS KS MahānU

apriye (AV **apriyah*) *prati muñcalām* (Kauś † **iam*, AV. **muñca iat*)
AV (bis) Kauś

sarvān agnīn (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuśado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*,
AV *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS TB See VV I p. 253

§850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word
seems to be the older are:

ṛṣṭinām ca stutīr (SV. *suṣṭutīr*) *upa* RV SV VS TS MS KS.

agnim indram (TB *agnī indrā*) *vrtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB. *vām*; MS
**hanam huvema*) AV MS TB.

yā antariṣṭyā (TB ApŚ. **kṣa*) *uta pāṛthivāsah* (TB ApŚ AG *pāṛthivīr*
yāh) KS AG TB ApŚ. Since the adjectives are feminine (agree-
ing with *āpah*), the KS form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62),
but it may nevertheless be the original

yā akrntān avayan yā atanvata (AV. *yās ca tatnīre*) AV SMB. PG
ApMB HG : *yā akrntān yā atanvan* MG Discussed in VV I
§§46, 218

īarām gachāsī (PG *gacha*, AV. *su gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV. PG
ApMB HG Only the relative antiquity of AV favors greater
originality of its reading; and perhaps this is not conclusive

CHAPTER XIX RIME WORDS

§851. A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants, the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound; that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

§852. We begin with the roots *jinu* and *pinu*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms 'inspire' and 'make to prosper'. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the Samhitās, both verbs are found in all texts that have both pādas, but the two are exchanged in different texts.

mano me jinva (MS KS *pinva*, Vait *mano jinva*) VS TS MS KS Vait
Followed by.

vācam me pinva (MS KS ŚŚ *jinva*) VS TS MS KS ŚŚ.

tad indrāgnī jinvatam (MŚ † *pinvatām*) *sūnṛtāvat* TB ApŚ MŚ

jinva (AŚ † *pinvam*, read *pinva*) *gā jinvārvatah* TB. ApŚ AŚ Cf
pinvatam gā jinvatam arvato nah RV. KS

§853. Other verb forms are.

ūrjā prthivīm gachata (MS *yachata*) TS MS KS TB

paramam padam ava bhāti (VS ŚB. *bhāti*) *bhūti* (TS *bhūreh*) RV. VS.

TS MS KS ŚB N The comm on VS calmly says. *avabhāti*
avabhāti, takārasthāne chāndaso rephah! BR derive from root *bhr*,
as aor. pass 'wurde eingedruckt', which is at least possible

trikadrulebhūh putati (AV *pavate*) RV AV KS TA. ApŚ Cf Hil-
lebrandt, *Ved Myth*¹. I 500

pratilāmīti (AŚ °*nīti*, TS KSA TB *pra sulāmīti*) *te pitā* VS TS MS
KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ Derived by the comms. from roots *til*
and *sul*, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise.

sam bāhubhyām dhamatṛ (AV *bharatṛ*, TS TA. *namatṛ*, KS *namate*, MS *°bhyām adhamatṛ*) *sam patatratṛ* (KS *yajatratṛ*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU *sam-dham* and *sam-nam* practically synonyms here, 'weld together' Note also the noun forms *patatratṛ yajatratṛ* (graphic change)

asadan (TS *asanan*) *mātaram purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArS VS MS KS ŚB Practically synonyms: 'has seated himself' 'has reached'.

yābhyām svar ajanann (TB *suvar ajayann*) *agra eva* MS TB MŚ *yābhyām ajayan svar agra eva* AV 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning'

sam grāvabhṛ nasate (SV *vasate*) *vīte adhvare* RV SV Both 'unite with', SV lect. fac (*sam-nas* was obsolete)

rasena sam asṛkṣmahṛ (RV *agasmahṛ*, KS LŚ *aganmahṛ*, AV JB *apṛkṣmahṛ*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB *sam-sṛj* and *sam-prc* practically synonyms Cf *sam-prc* and *sam-sṛj*, §375

aṅgād-aṅgāt sambhavasṛ (SMB. **samśravasṛ*) ŚB. BrhU KBU AG SMB * GG ApMB HG MG N Mahābh In SMB a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety 'thou flowest together' for 'thou arise' The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts In both cases some ms. of SMB have the alternative reading

pra ketunā brhatū yāty (AV TA *bhāty*) *agnih* RV AV SV TA 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam' Perhaps graphic?

śocasva (VS * *rocasva*) *devavītamah* (KS *°vītamah*) RV. RVKh VS * TS MS KS TA Synonyms

tataś (RV *ataś*, KS *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV *°the*, MS KS *cakrāthe*) *adītim* *dītim* ca RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Root *cakṣ* perfect of *kṛ*

adhṛ skanda vīrayasva AV *abhṛ kranda vilayasva* ŚG Quasi-synonyms AVPPP also reads *kranda*, which therefore may be original, tho *skanda* seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach)

nā chetthā (v I *bhetthā*) *mā vyathṣṭhāh* KBU

[varṣmā rathasya nṛ jihṛgate (ŚŚ *jihṛlate*) *divah* AV ŚŚ So RWh, but the mss of AV read *jihṛdate*, which should be kept]

§854. Riming participles occur in the following

pratyaḡ enam śapatāh yantu tṛṣṭāh (AV *sṛṣṭāh*) RV AV Comm and one ms of AV *tṛṣṭāh*, for which *sṛṣṭāh* may be called a lect. fac: 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'

yā dabhrāḥ parisasruṣiḥ ŚG : *yā ṭādroghnīḥ pari tasthuṣiḥ* ApMB
Pples of roots *sru* and *sthā*

āyurdā deva (AV *agne*) *jarasam vṛnānah* (ApMB ApG HG *grn*°)
AV. MS KS MŚ ApMB ApG HG *āyurdā* (VS ŚB *āyusmān*)
agne haviṣo juṣānah (VS ŚB ŚG *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) VS TS. ŚB.
TB TA AŚ ApŚ ŚG. The ApMB etc readings are an interesting
blend of those which contain *vṛnānah* and *juṣānah*. Perhaps
grnānah was felt as meaning 'praising' rather than 'devouring',
even this would be none too sensible in the context. Oldenberg
adopts *vṛnānah* for HG. Still a different version ('thriving by the
oblation') is adopted in VS etc, this is an easy lect fac in a
passage relating to Agni.

ā sutrāvne (MS KS *bhūyīṣṭhadāvne*) *sumatim āvṛnānah* AV MS KS
oṣīṣṭhadāvne sumatim grnānāḥ TS 'Choosing to myself (praising)
his kindness'

§855. Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair *dhāman. nāman*
stands out. In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are
easily interchangeable; the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both
mean its mystic essence. In some cases the change from one to the
other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in

yat te 'nādhrīṣṭam nāma yajñuyam (KS *nāmānādhrīṣyam*, MS *dhāmānā-*
dhrīṣyam) *tena vādādhe* VS TS MS KS ŚB. The change in MS.
was suggested by *ādādhe*

sedam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada ṭāsīda (VSK *priyenu nāma priye*
sadasī sīda) VS VSK ŚB. Also:

priyena dhāmnā (TS TB ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda*
(VSK TS TB. ApŚ * *priye sadasī sīda*) VS VSK. TS ŚB TB
KŚ ApŚ. In this and the prec (which are variants of each other)
only the VS texts have *dhāman*, and it is reasonable to suppose
that it was substituted there for *nāman* because it is a synonym
of *sadas*

vidmā te nāma (AV *vidma te dhāma*, Ppp *gandharvo nāma*) *paramam*
guhā yat RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB. *gandharvo dhāma*
paramam guhā yat (VS *vibhrtam guhā sat*) AV. VS *gandharvo*
nāma nṛitām guhāsu TA MahānU. Here two different pādas
have become confused, one began originally with *vidmā te nāma*,
the other with *gandharvo dhāma*. The AVPpp reading (not in
Conc) occurs in the verse where AV has *vidma te dhāma*

puruṣṭulasya dhāmabhīḥ (MS *nā*°) RV AV MS Vait

§856. Twice the RV phrase *pratnena manmanā* 'by ancient hymn'

is changed in SV to *pratnena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth much to the detriment of the sense In one case TB follows SV *aham pratnena manmanā* (SV. *jan°*) RV. SV. AV.

agnih pratnena manmanā (SV TB *jan°*) RV SV MS KS AB T.
AŚ MŚ

§857. Other nouns and adjectives:

aktam (MS MŚ *aplubhī*, KS **artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS TB *viyanti vayah* TS MS KS ** TB MŚ. GG. KhG. vyantu vayo 'lta: rihānāḥ* VS A very obscure passage, the isolated *artham* may possibly be due to graphic confusion

śarīram me vicarṣanam (RVKh *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA TU. *pratīkaḥ me vicakṣanam* PG 'My body (face) be active (glorious)' Scheitelwitz on RVKh reads *vicakṣana*, but it seems that 'nam must' the true reading

paktā (KSA *panthā*) *sasyam* TS KSA The latter is called 'ludicrous by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p. 204, he takes it as masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu werden'; cf Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p 171

kuhūm aham (AV Vait *kuhūm devīm*) *suṛtam* (AV MS KS *sulṛtam* TS *subhagām*) *vidmanāpasam* AV TS MS. KS AŚ ŚŚ N Quasi-synonyms

dyumnā suṣatra manhaya RV *dyumnā sudatra manhaya* SV *dhanamjayam dharunam dhārayiṣnu* RVKh *bhūmidṛṇham acyutan pārayiṣnu* AV.. *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyutaś cyāvayīṣnuh* AV The evidently secondary *cyāv°* is suggested by 'cyutaś: 'unshaken (but shaking (others)'

aslonō 'piśācadhīrah ApMB. *anandho 'slonō 'piśācadhīrah* HG The latter is a strange corruption, the original means 'not sucked by demons'

adroghavācam matibhīh śaviṣṭham (RV **bhīh yavi°*) RV ** AV* See RVRep 275 f

abhi dyumnā (RV VS *sumnā*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS KS *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*) RV VS TS MS KS ApMB Quasi-synonyms

nagnahur dhīras (KS *vīras*) *tasaram na vema* VS MS KS TB. Synonyms

pāhi no agna enase (ŚG *edhase*) *svāhā* TA MahānU ŚG. *edhase* is certainly right 'protect us unto prosperity' TA comm quotes the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase* The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah* or the like is

associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'

punar brahmāno (AV *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītur*, KS °*dhītam* and †°*nītha* [so 38 12b], MS °*dhīte*) *yajñāh* (AV MS KS.* *agne*) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB The form with *n* is apparently original; in MS KS it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhiti* *kuvīn no asya sumatir navīyasī* (SV *bhavīyasī*) RV SV. 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'.

sthirā cin namayīṣṇavaḥ RV *ḍṛdhā cid yamayīṣṇavaḥ* SV Practically synonyms, 'bending'· 'subduing'

añdhī kham vartayā paṇim (SV *pavim*) RV SV Benfey and Grassmann would read *pavim* in RV. The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it; cf Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten ad loc*) It is easy to see how *pavim* could be substituted for an original *paṇim* under the influence of *kham*, a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent

tās tvā vīśantu manasā śvena (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB. The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots Cf next.

ul satvanām māmakānām manānsi (TS *mahānsi*) RV SV VS TS. Cf prec

dvīṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam (HG. *pāpam*) SMB. ApMB. HG

The two words are near-synonyms, *pāśam* is clearly original
upa śreṣṭhā na āśīṣah (MS *āśīrah*) AV TS MS KS

panasyuvah samvasaneṣu (SV °*varaneṣu*) *akramuḥ* RV SV. Quasi-synonyms, 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'.

asya (AŚ *mama*) *snuṣā śvaśurasya praśīṣṭim* (AŚ *praviṣṭau*) TB AŚ

Complete change of meaning as well as syntax

svāhā tvā sūryasya (MS *vātāya sūr°*) *vr̥ṣṭivanaye* (MS.° *sanaye*)

MS TA ApŚ

CHAPTER XX. GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858. There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause. Some of them, such as variations between *b* and *v*, *th* and *dh*, *ṭ* and *th*, *p* and *v*, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects. Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic. We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian palaeography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets. Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion, it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion. For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned. We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored.

§859. The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters *n* and *r*. Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between *p* and *y*, *c* and *r*, *gh* and *dy*, *d* and *r*, *s* and *m*, *t* and *n*. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency.

n and *r*

§860. The variation between *n* and *r* is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,

the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between *n* and *r*, so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Śāradā *n* and *r* before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

§861. We present first cases of *n* and *r* not combined with other consonants

indhāna enam jarate (MS KS *janate*, but MS *p p jarate*, KS v. 1 *jarite*) *svādhīh* RV. VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB N One ms of KS. reads *jarite*, and the *p p* of MS *jarate*, this is clearly the proper reading

mṛttike hana (MahānU. *hara*) *me pāpam* TA MahānU Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots *han* and *hr* in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away')

asadan (TS. *asanan*) *mātaram purah* (TS *punah*) RV AV SV ArS VS TS MS. KS. ŚB.

avimuktacakra (v. 1 °rā) *āsīran* PG.: *vivṛttacakra āsīnāh* HG ApMB *tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS Others, §830.

tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā MS : *mahāntan gahvareṣṭhām* SV.

nirṛtho (MS °to) *yaś ca nīśānah* (AV. °rah) AV MS TA

nigalgulī dhārakā VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgulī* (KS † *jalgalūti*, mss, em °lūti) *dhānukā* TS KSA

deva puraścara saghyāsam (MS. *devapuraś carasa rdhyāsam*, *p p deva, punar it punah, carase*, etc) *tvā* MS TA. ApŚ MŚ The text of MS is corrupt in both readings.

mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaiḥ MS . *mā nah param adharam* (MŚ. *param adhanam*) *mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ *naiḥ*) TA MŚ Two cases, *adhanam*: *adharam*, and *mā rajo mānado-* (corrupt)

ruvad dhokṣā (TB *nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhur evaiḥ* RV MS. AB KB TB. But *r* may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for *ru*; §684.

§862. Next, *n* and *r* before other consonants, note one case in RV itself:

vīśvāny anyo (RV.*KS *aryo*) *bhuvanā jajāna* RV (both) MS KS TB

In different contexts

balivardāya (KSA. °*vandāya*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Apparently *balivardāya* is intended

ihivardāya (KSA *ahivandāya*) *svāhā* KSA TB ApŚ Follows the prec *gaurī* (TB. TA *gaurī*, AV *gaur in*) *mimāya sahlāni takṣatī* RV AV. TB AA. TA. N

vidyur (ApMB *vidyun*) *me asya devāh* RV AV KS ApMB See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB, xxiv *vidyun* is doubtless corruption due to unintelligent thought of *vidyut*, it is read by all mss and confirmed by the comm, who says that *t* for *visarga* is *chāndasa*¹ *vidyur* is 3d plural verb form

§76 *vāte punann wa* (AŚ LŚ, mss of Vait., most mss of ŚŚ, and v 1 o KSA. *punarnwa*) VS TS MS. KSA. ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ

The persistence in the mss of the impossible *punarnwa* is striking
ni nuvartana vartayendra nardabuda (KS *nandabala*) TS KS ApMB See §273

adyā tvā vanvan (KS *vardhan*) *sureknāh* RV. KS TB

ukhām sravanīm agadām aganma (MŚ *akarma*) KŚ MŚ

anārbhava mṛda KS. ApŚ The ms of KS reads *anārbhava*, em v Schroeder, see p w 5, Nachtrage Cf *anābho mṛda dhūrte* (read *dhūrta* with some mss of MS and all of MŚ) MS MŚ See §749

§863. As to *n* and *r* after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems *agn* and *agra* A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV. 10 18 7d, *ā rohanu janayo yonim agre*, into which by substituting *agneh* for *agre* there was introduced a justification for widow-burning. 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of fire' In the Vedic occurrences of this *pāda*, which is found also in AV and TA, there is no authority for this change There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative *agre* and the vocative *agne* It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem *agra* is evidently original, and the stem *agn* secondary The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion

§864. The list is as follows, the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms *agre* and *agne*

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantam (PB *abhīsam**) TS PB TB PG ApMB : *dhvāntā vātā agnim* (mss of both *vātāgnīm*) *abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ MG Clearly *agnim* is secondary.

agre vikṣu pradīdayat RV. *agne vikṣu pradīdayat* TB (Poona ed *agre* without v 1., but comm *he agne*)

tubhyam agre (MG *agne*) *pary avahan* RV AV PG ApMB MG
agre (MS *KS *MŚ *agne*) *brhann uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt* RV VS TS
 *MS *KS *ŚB ApŚ, and Pratikas AŚ ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Rvīdh BrhD.

tenemam agra (TB *agna*) *iha varcasā t̥samañgdhi* KS TB. Here, by exception, *agna* (= *agne*) may be the original reading, one accented ms of KS. leaves *agra* unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be *agna*) was intended.

tavāham nāma bibharāny agne (AŚ *agre*) TS AŚ : *tavāham agne bibhārāni nāma* MŚ. Here it seems even more probable that *agne* is the older reading

[*agre* (TB. *agne*, but Poona ed text and comm *agre*) *yajñasya śocatāh* (KS TB. *cetatah*) RV KS TB.]

[*agne* (AV *agre*) *samudham āhārṣam* AV Kauś *agre* is only an emendation in the Berlin ed, which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation]

§865. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following

akṣāṇām vagnum (MS *†vagnum*) *upajighnamānah* (MS *avajighram āpah*) MS TB TA The MS is certainly wrong TB. comm *upahatam kurvan*

girā ca (AV *vrājah*) *śruṣṭih sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB Whitney on AV adopts *śnuṣṭih* with most mss; Ppp *sunīṣas* See §57

ūrdhvacitah (MS KS *śritah*) *śrayadhvam* (VS *† śna°*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TA Doubtless corruption, if not misprint, see §195

c and v

§866. Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-crt* and *vi-vrt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-crt*, 'unloose', also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases *śac* and *śav*. The others are sporadic

agnim hotāram antarā vīrttāh AŚ *hotāram agnim antarā vicrttāh* ApŚ. 'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that *vicrttāh* is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect fac It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'.

ṛtasya tantum vīratam vīrtiya (VS *vicrtiya*, AV *dr̥se kam*) AV. VS TA. MahānU The true reading is probably *vicrtiya* So Poona ed of TB text and comm, tho with v. l. *vīrtiya*; comm gloss *guruśāstra-mukhān nīṣṭiya*, which looks as if he had read *vīrtiya* and taken it from *vi-vr* 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

- case MahānU. reads *vṛtiya* without recorded variant, comm. gloss *vṛti sandīpena sandīpya*, which is obscure to us
- [vi pāśam madhyamam *ṛta* (TB and MŚ v 1 *vṛta*) RV KS TB MŚ So Conc, seemingly erroneously, MŚ has *ṛta* without recorded variant, and Poona ed of TB. likewise *ṛta* text and comm with no v 1]
- śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam* (ApŚ *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB ApŚ
- [*vīryebhir* (MS *vīrebhir*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci*°) AV VS. MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ But Poona ed of TB *śaviṣṭhā* in text and comm without v 1]
- [*devānām devatamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci*°) MS TB Again Poona ed of TB *śavi*° without v 1]
- viciti* (or *viviti*) *svāhā* MahānU *vivṛtiyai svāhā* TA TAA There is also a v. 1 *civiti* in MahānU The word is meaningless Comm *viciti*, which he does not explain; he quotes also a v 1 *vidhijña* Poona ed of both TA. and TAA *vivṛtiyai*, explained by comm as for *vivṛtiyai* by Vedic license
- vakratundāya* (TAA *cakra*°) *dhīmahi* TA TAA † MahānU
- saṁ arvanito raghudruvāh* (VSK °*drucāh*) RV. SV. VS VSK MS Meaningless corruption in VSK
- ghṛtapratīkam va* (TB *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB *dhūruṣ*°, Poona ed *dhūrṣ*°) RV. TB ApŚ The sandhi shows that TB is secondary and poor
- yatra cābhūṛṣāmasi* (HG *vābhi*°) ApMB HG

p and y

- §867. A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group
- indrāpāsya* (two mss *indrāyāsya*) *phalgam* ApMB *indrāyayāsya* (corrupt, Kirste suggests *indra āyāsya*) *śephām alīkam* HG
- hrīyai śalyakah* (VS *śalpakah*) VS MS The *p* is a false reading, VS comm *śvānti*
- bṛhaspataye śitpuṣaḥ* (KSA † *śimyuṣaḥ*) TS KSA An otherwise unknown word, said to be a kind of cat
- prasthāyendrāgnibhyām somam vocatopo* (KB *vocalo yo*) *asmān* KB AŚ ŚŚ Read in KB. as the others (Keith).
- saṁ bāhūbhyām dhamatī* (etc, §853) *saṁ patatrah* (KS. *yajatraih*) RV AV VS TS MS KS TA MahānU ŚvetU
- prapunvanta upa sprśata prapuvadbhya svāhā* ApMB *prayunvanta upasprśata prayunvadbhyah svāhā* HG Both anomalous forms and scarcely interpretable

susasyāh (VSK °*pāh*) *kṛṣṣ kṛdh* VS VSK ŚB KŚ · *kṛṣya* *tvā susas-yāya* (KS †*sumanasasyāya*, bis) TS KS ApŚ. With the VSK reading cf *śaṣpa*

pūlyāny (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV ApMB The mss of both texts vary between *lp* and *ly*

anadrāns tapyate vahan (MŚ *talpate vahān*) ApŚ MŚ If MŚ is correct (it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption *tvam hī rādhaspata* (text °*yata*, wrongly) *eka īṣiṣe* ŚŚ.

ubhe ca no (etc) . . . *anhasah* (°*sas*) *pātām* (TB Conc *syātām*, Poona ed *anhasah spātām*, AŚ text *janhasa syātām*) MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

The true reading can only be *anhasah* (or °*sas*) *pātām*

[*tanūpā* (TB °*yā*, Poona ed °*pā*) *bhūṣaṇā sule* VS MS KS TB]

[*vahṣṭhebhur viharan yāsi* (TB Conc *pāhī*, comm and Poona ed. text *yāsi*) *tantum* RV TB KS AŚ ApŚ]

[*tvaṣṭā turīpo* (TB *turīyo*, Poona ed text and comm. °*po*) *adbhuta* VS. MS KS TB]

[*āpataye* (GB ā^{ya}°, Gastra ā^{pa}°) *tvā grhnam* VSK TS MS GB Vait ApŚ MŚ]

[*varuneti śapāmahe* (MS †°*har*, LŚ †*ṣayāmahe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Probably a double misprint in LŚ]

[*viśvulohasta uta viśvataspāt* (TA °*tah syāt*, but Poona ed correctly °*taspāt*) TS MS KS TA]

gh and dy

§868. The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent
mā (AG MG ā) *tvā prāpann aghāyavah* (MG *adyāyavah*) AG. ŚG ApMB MG The correct reading is *mā* . . . *aghāyavah* 'Let not the malicious ones reach thee' It is strange that apparently all mss of AG MG read ā at the beginning, preceded by anusvāra at the end of the preceding pāda (Stenzler assumes *mā*) The further corruption in MG seems an attempt to patch up a bad job, it implies *adya-āyavah* 'may lives today reach thee'

magham (MS, but not KS †, *madyam*) *indrāya jabhṛre* VS MS KS TB 'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra' Indra's well-known bibulous habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS, involving the misreading of *gh* as *dy* Cf next

sa bibheda balam (VS and Poona ed TB. *valam*) *magham* (MS *madyam*) VS MS KS TB Cf prec

śatāpāsthādya viṣā (read with Poona ed of both °*sthā gha viṣā*) *pari no vṛnaktu* TB TA. *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārah* MS (Poona ed of

TB. records τ . l. *'āya*, and comm. τ . l. *adya*.) The MS is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, *ādā* for *gh*, cf. §875; see also §838.

pātām mā dyāvāprthivī adyāhnaḥ (Kauś. *aghān nah*, read *adyāhnaḥ*)
TS. ApŚ. Kauś. See §840

[*keralāgho* (TB. *keralādyo*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *'lāgho*) *bharati keralādī* RV. TB. N. Gloss in TB. comm.: *pāpam eva saṃpādayati na t'v kimcid api puṇyam*.]

[*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*, read with Poona ed. text and comm. *sa ghā*) *no deraḥ saritā sahāvā* (TB. *sarāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ ŚŚ]

[*ad vā ghā* (TA. *vādyā*, but Poona ed. *vā ghā*, and comm. *vā ghā*) *satyam ita yan na ridma* RV. TS. MS. KS. TA. There is a τ . l. *vādyā* in TA. Poona ed., but gloss in comm. (*yad eva kimcid*) proves that he read *vā ghā*.]

d and *v*

§869. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems *dīs* and *riś*; both stems always appear in the plural number, cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 48, foot. These are of course rime words. In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain *riś*. There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between *d* and *v*.

decānān patnīr (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *dīśaḥ* (MS. KSA. *ṛśiśaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes'. This is the only case of original *dīs*, and even it is perhaps not certain.

ye vā nūnam surjanāsu rikṣu (AV. *dikṣu*) RV. AV. A τ . l. *rikṣu* occurs in AV., and so Ppp. reads

śaśrad rīśaḥ (TB. *dīśaḥ*) *savitur dairyasya* RV. TB. The change in TB was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel *bhuvanāni* in the next pāda.

riśān (TB. *dīśān*) *patir abharad vājīnīcān* MS. TB. Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless *riśām*.

riśo (SV. *dīśo*) *riśvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant.

hṛtsu kraturḥ varuṇo (MS. *varunaṁ*) *riṣo* (RV. *apso*, MS. *dikṣo*) *agnim* RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.†

apa durhārdīśo jahi Kauś. (read *durhārdīśo*, Cone)

ut parjanyaṣya dhāmabhiḥ (TS. TA. ApMB. *śuśmena*, MS. *dhāmā*, KS. *ṛṣṭyā*, PG. *dṛṣṭyā*) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramola samdr̥k* (KS *paramo na samvr̥k*) RV VS TS KS MS N. *samvr̥k* perhaps 'seizer', certainly inferior

avasphūrjan vidyud (TS *didyud*) *varṣan* . . . TS MS KS

bhūmīr it̐ tvābhīpramanvate janāh AV. *yām tvā jano bhūmīr it̐ praman-date* VS MS KS ŚB The latter secondary and poor, Mahādhara, *stauti*, which the verb can hardly mean

s and m

§870. Here the variants are quite miscellaneous:

kṛṣyāi tvā susasyāyāi (KS *ṣumanasyāyāi*, bis) TS KS. ApŚ Others, see §867. The original is clearly *susasyāyāi*

agne yān devān ayād . . . *tām sasanuṣīm* (KS *ms tān samanoṣīnr*, ed *em samanaṣīr*) *hotrām* . . . MS KS TB The corrupt *ms* reading of KS seems to point towards the reading of MS TB., rather than towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be replaced by the other version

pr̥ṣasya (ArS *prak°*) *vṛṣno aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS *mahaḥ*) RV ArS AB KB AŚ ŚŚ Svidh Synonyms

athā jīvaḥ (KS *adhā vṣitah*, VS ŚB *athantam*, AV *adomadam*) *pītum* (AV *annam*) *addhi prasūtah* (TS MS KS *pramuktah*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB

graha viśvajanīna nīyantar viprāyāma te (MS. *p p viprāya, mate*; KS *nyantar vipra ā ṣatī*) MS KS

yaśasendrābrhaspatī (ArS *yaśo mēdrā°*) ArS PG MG.

mā brāhmanasya (3c *sā br°*) *rājanya* AV. 5 18 1c, 3c In the Berlin ed. *mā* is misprinted for *sā* in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic error

mahas te sato mahimā panasyate (SV *panīṣṭama*) RV AV. SV. VS. *mahāns te mahato mahimā* AV. The related words in the context have, of course, helped in the secondary change to *mahato*.

vahāsi mā (KS *ṣvahānsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS. *lokaḥ*) KS TB Certainly KS. is secondary and inferior, but *sā* may refer to the *juhū*

tvaṣṭā devaṇḥ sahamāna indrah MG.: *tvaṣṭar devebhīs saḥasāma indra* ApMB.

nīlāgalasālā AV *nīlagalamālan śivah paśya* NīlarU See §512 Some copyist tried to correct the reading in NīlarU., thinking of *nīla-gala* and *mālā*

t and n

§871. The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters. Our list may be incomplete.
sa tvam (ŚŚ. ApŚ *sanvan*) *sanm summucā vimuñca* KS ŚŚ ApŚ See §830

tan mā jnva (KS *mārgivā*) TS MS KS See §§354, 829

dhātā vidhātā (MS *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramola samdṛk* (KS. *paramo na samvṛk*) RV VS TS MS KS N See §835

yad ejaḥ jagatḥ yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno (MahānU *nānyo*, v 1 *mānyo*)
bhāgo yan (TAA Poona ed 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU *yatnān me*, v 1 *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA MahānU.

upa stuhī (Poona ed *snuhī*) *tam nṛmnām* (Poona ed *nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA (Other forms, see §110.) The mss of the comm vary between *stuhī* and *snuhī*, gloss *bhūmau prasarāvaya*, pointing to *snuhī*.

yām apilā upatiṣṭhanta āpah LŚ. *yām āpīnām upasīdanty āpah* AV
prapīnam (MŚ v 1 'tam, TS ApŚ *prapyātam*) *agne sarīrasya* (MŚ *salīlasya*) *madhye* VS TS KS ApŚ MŚ

ghṛtam duhānā vīsvataḥ prapītāḥ (TB ApMB *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp *pravīnāḥ*) RV AV VS TB ApMB

āvīte dyāvāpṛthivī ṛtāvṛdhau MS KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS TB

āvītau (TS *āvinnau*) *nutrāvarunau dhṛtavratau* (TS 'nāv *ṛtāvṛdhau*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Others with *āvīta āvinna*, see Conc 188

grāmam sajānayo ṭgachantī ApMB. *grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG
jāmim itvā mā vīvīsi lokān TA : *jāmim ṛtvā māva pāsi lokā* AV
vīrān mā no rudra bhāmīto ('no) . . , *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno* . . , see §209

savitā bhṛtyām (KS ms † *manyām*) TS KS See §242

ṣ and p

§872. The variants are few.

atho (LŚ ApŚ *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS 'vīśāt, LŚ. *ṭśadvinśāt*) RV AV VS LŚ ApŚ. See §217

vājīnam śepena VS . *śeṣo vājīnena* MS But MS p.p. *śepah*, read certainly *śepo*

ye tālīyur (TB *tālīrpur*) *devatrā jehamānāḥ* RV. AV. MS TB. AŚ ŚŚ. Kauś 'Thirsted'. 'delighted'

ā and prā

§873. In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV. itself:

āvo (and *prāvo*) *yudhyantam vṛṣabham daśadyum* RV. (both)

āsmā aśṛvann āśāh AV : *prāsmā āśā aśṛvan* TA

āvat tam (TA Conc *prāvarlam*, comm *āvarlam*, Poona ed. text and comm *āvar tam*; so also KS ms) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV KS TA

s and p, pi, pr, bh, t

§874. The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement. In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with *s* (on *s* and *m* see §870).

suśtimam somasatsaru AV · *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS *sumatitsaru*) VS MS KS ŚB VāDh. See §180 *s* and *p* (*t*)

rasena sam asṛkṣmah (RV. *agasmah*, KS LŚ *aganmah*, AV JB *aprṛkṣmah*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ ApMB. *s* and *p*

[*āplam manah* TS MS KS TB MŚ ApŚ. So read in TB, for which Bibl Ind ed has *āsam*]

sacyutim (AŚ. *pracyutim*) *yaghanacyutim* MS TB. AŚ. Preceded by a *pāda* ending in *sacyutim* (MS *hastacyutim*). Perhaps the AŚ variant (*s pr*) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety)

anugrāsaś (PB *anugrābhaś*) *ca vṛtrahan* RV AV. PB. The original is a nom pl of *an-ugra*. PB misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of *s* to *bh*.

yad adya dugdham prithvīm asṛpta (TB ApŚ *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ MŚ. Again *bh* is secondary to *s*

agne svam (TS TB. *svām*, ŚB. *tvam*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS·MS KS. ŚB TB sv: tv, the latter secondary.

gh and dh and other similar letters

§875. The only common graphic interchange of *gh*, that with *dy*, has been treated in §868. The shift between *dh* and *gh* has phonetic aspects, see §147. The rest are sporadic

grhānāṅgāny apve (SV. *aghe*) *pareh* RV. AV SV VS N. The SV. is certainly corrupt, see Benfey's Nachtrage to SV text, p 258. Benfey curiously retains *aghe* in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name *Apvā gh·pv*.

agdhād eko 'hutād ekah . . TS adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād ekah MŚ
gdh dhv or ddh.

ima udvāsīkārīna ime . TB. ApŚ . imā uddhāsīcārīna ime MŚ
ddh. dv

ruvad dhokṣā (TB nrvadbhyo 'kṣā) paprainānebhur evaḥ RV MS AB
KB TB The TB is secondary, ddh dbhu

v and j, ṣ, tr, th

§876. Compare §§866, 869 for *v* and *c*, *d*

pra viṣṭīmānam ānṣuh AV VS ŚŚ pra samhrṣṭanam ājuṣh LŚ The
whole passage is obscure, LŚ doubtless secondary, with j for v
usrāv (VSK usrā) elam dhūrṣāhau (VSK. MŚ dhūrvāhau) . VS VSK
TS ŚB MŚ. Others, §122 ṣ v

[vairājī (KSA † °je) puruṣī (so also KSA †, Conc wrongly puruṣī)
TS KSA]

[pra yah satrūcā (TB sa vācā, but comm and Poona ed text satrūcā)
manasā yajāte (TB °tai, Poona ed text and comm °te) RV TB]

[sam te prṣvāva śīyatām AV sam u prṣthāva (read prṣvāva with Poona
ed text and comm., tho v l prṣthāva) śīyatām TA]

y and ṣ, th

§877. For *y* and *p* see §867, for *dy* and *gh*, §868

ṛṣvāh satīh kavāṣah (KSA kavayah) śumbhamānāh VS TS MS KSA
See Keith's note on TS While the meaning of kavāṣah is quite
uncertain, kavayah (found also in some TS mss) is probably only a
graphic lect fac

tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām (TB asthām, Poona ed aśyām)
RV MS AB TB AŚ See §287

apāmatyam (AŚ apām ittham) va sambhara MS KS AŚ The AŚ is
an absurd graphic blunder

samaddho agnir vṛṣanāratar (AV °nā rathī, ŚŚ °nā rayir) dvah AV AB
AŚ ŚŚ Here the reverse error, y for th, has occurred in ŚŚ see
§93

Miscellaneous

§878. Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character

*āptye (AV *apriye, *dvīṣate) sam nayāmasi RV AV ** The AV comm
reads āptye for apriye But the variant dvīṣate suggests that apriye
must have been known in very early times, and indeed Ppp reads

apriye (Barret, *JAOS* 30 220) The RV. says 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Āptya'. The AV charm-monger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character, with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy' Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to *pty* to *pr* may have shared, the further change to *dvīṣate* would be unintelligible.

tāsām viśiśnānām (KS *viśiśnyānām*) MS. KS : *teṣām viśipriyānām* (VS ŚB °nām vo 'ham) VS TS ŚB *śn(y)* : *pr*. Both words are obscure, Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS. KS meant the same.

prutiśrutkāyā artanam (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS TB *n̄ l* Possibly phonetic, cf §273

khanyābhyah (KSA *khalyā*) *svāhā* TS KSA Vor Schroeder suggests reading with TS. *n̄ l*, cf. preceding

anarśarātum (SV *alarśvātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhī* RV. SV. AV. N. See §292 *n̄ l*.

śaśvat parikupīlena (HG °*pīlena*) ApMB HG *t̄ l*. Oldenberg abandons the HG reading

abhi yo na irasyati (AV. *no durasyati*) RV AV. The AV. reading (found also in Ppp as *durasyatu*, Barret, *JAOS* 26 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV, which is antiquated and limited to RV. *du* 1

acīṣyāma (p p. *ami*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *vṛjane viśva ūti* MS : *abhi ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavīrah* RV. KS. c: *bh* (note p p of MS)

CHAPTER XXI SANDHI

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f (nasal as 'Hiatusalger'), 338 ff and 359 ff. (*y* and *v* as 'Hiatusalger'), 709 and 731 (elision of final *a* before initial *e* and *o*), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful, not a few new principles have come out of the study.

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place. Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse. In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times. On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Prātiśākhyaś, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement. The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused. Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion. And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed. Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or

different schools? These are some of the problems which confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions; and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882. For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final *s* before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is notably the case, for instance, with the 'abhinihita' sandhi (initial *a* after final *e* and *o*).

§883. The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated. First, final *au* and *o* before initial vowels (except, in the case of *o*, initial *a*). Next, the 'abhinihita' sandhi, final *e* and *o* before initial *a*. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of *a* after *e* and *o* in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages; for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final *a* vowels followed by initial vocalic *r*, here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear.

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final *n*, before vowels, and then before consonants. Then the change of dental to lingual *n*, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies. Next the cases of final *s* before initial *t*, lingualized after non-*a* vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittiriya school (often also in KS). Regarding final *s* before initial *k* and *p*, the Taittiriya school is again exceptional in that it usually has *h*, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after *a* vowels. After a few cases of final *r* before *k* and *p*, we come to final *s* before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant; here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence. No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial *s* after final non-*a* vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to *ś*). We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations.

FINAL *au* AND *o* BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

§885. Here are treated variants concerning *au* before all initial vowels and *o* before all except short *a* (abhinihita sandhi), which is treated in the next section. We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit

(a) AV. writes *āv* for *au*, but *a* for *o*, without regard to the character of the following vowel. This is required by APr 2 21 f. But once, in a passage inherited from RV. AVŚ shows *ā* for *au* before *u*, Ppp has the regular *āv*.

(b) All other schools treat *au* and *o* in a quite analogous manner. Thus Maitrāyaṇīya and Kāthaka texts, and VSK, write *ā* for *au* and *a* for *o* before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr 4 124; for the practice of VS see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr. texts; cf. *kṛnūtām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ 5 1 3 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of v. 1. On the other hand, at MŚ 3 5 14c Knauer reads *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat*, without any ms authority, the corrupt mss are closer to *agnā*, the expected form.

(c) Taittirīya texts write *āv* and *av* before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr 10 19, which prescribes *ā* and *a*. But 10 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says *āv* and *av* should always be written, this is favored by the comm. on TPr, and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait school texts, at least in their mantra materials.

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV, SV (very few instances), and VS—write *ā* and *a* before *u*-vowels, but *āv* and *av* before other vowels. So RPr 129 (2 9) and 135 (2 11), and so VPr 4 125 gives the opinion of 'some', opposed to its own rule 4 124, quoted above.

(e) To summarize before *u*-vowels, Tait texts write *āv* and *av*, AV. writes *āv* for *au* but *a* for *o*, others *ā* and *a*.

(f) Before other than *u*-vowels, Maitr texts, KS, and VSK write *ā* and *a*; AV writes *āv* but *a*, all others *āv* and *av*.

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final *o* of voc. sing. forms is retained without change before a following vowel. Cf. Wackernagel I §273b, the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it.

§886. The variants of *au* before *u*-vowels are the following:
aśvinau dvyakṣareṇa (MS KS °*rayā*) *prānāpānāv* (MS KS °*nā*) *ud*

ajayātām TS MS KS
asā (ApŚ *asāv-asāv*) *upahwayasva* ŚŚ ApŚ
asmākam yonā (ApŚ *yonāv*) *udare suśevāh* MS ApŚ

imam yaḡṇam juṣamānā (TB °nāv) *upetam* MS TB.

upasthe mātuh surabhā (TS °bhāv) *u loke* RV TS. MS. KS

ubhā (AV ubhāv) *upāṇṣu prathomā pibāva* RV. AV.

urūnasāv (TA uru°) *asutṛpā* (AV. TA. °pāv) *udumbalau* (TA. ulu°)

RV. AV. TA AŚ

kā (TA. kāv, AV. VS kim) *ūrū pādā* (TA †pādāv) *ucyete* RV AV VS TA

The only exception to the rule in AV Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 42 113) reads *pādāv*, regularly

daivyā hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS MS °rā ūrdhvam, KS hotārordhvam)

VS TS MS KS †18 17a In KS the form *hotārā*, not °rau, is concerned

na yonā (TS yonāv) *uśāsā°* VS TS MS

rakṣohanau (VS ŚB °nau vām) *valagahanā* (TS. ApŚ °hanāv) *upa°*

VS VSK TS KS ŚB ApŚ

syone kṛnudhvam surabhā (TS °bhāv) *u loke* VS TS MS KS ŚB

§887. The variants of *o* before *u*-vowels are.

uṣṇena vāya (ApMB vāyav) *udakenehi* (with varr) AV SMB ApMB.

AG GG PG

deva viṣṇa (ApŚ viṣṇav) *urv* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

divo vā viṣṇa (TS viṣṇav) *uta vā prthivyāh* VS TS KS ŚB *divo viṣṇa* etc AV MS.

maho vā viṣṇa (AV maho viṣṇa) *uror antarikṣāt* (TS viṣṇav *uta vāntarikṣāt*) AV. VS TS KS ŚB

viṣṇa (TS ApŚ viṣṇav) *urukrama* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

§888. The variants of *au* before other than *u*-vowels are

agnāv (VSK MS KS MŚ *agnā*) *agnis carati pravṛṣṭah* AV VS VSK

TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB, *pratika*, Vait KŚ Kauś GG

agnīṣomāv (MS KS MŚ °ṣomā) *imam su me* RV TS MS KS TB

AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚŚ

ajasya nābhāv (MS KS nābhā) *adhy ekam arpitam* RV VS TS MS KS

asāv (MS KS MŚ *asā*) *anu mā* MS KS LŚ MŚ ApŚ

āyur dadhad yaḡṇapatāv (MS KS °tā) *avīhrutam* RV SV ArS VS MS. KS LŚ ApŚ

imau bhadrav dhuryāv (MS °yā) *abhī* SV MS JB

usrāv etam VS TS ŚB MŚ ApŚ KŚ *usrā etam* VSK KS

In MŚ the rule is violated, no *v* l reported

goṣaphe śakulāv (VSK °lā) *iva* AV VS VSK ŚŚ LŚ

tāv (KS. tā) *ehi sam* TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ HG BrhU *tāv iha*

sam AV *tāv ehi* (MG tā *eva*) *vi* AG ŚG PG MG

tāv eha sam AB

dīkṣīto 'yam asā āmuṣyāyanaḥ MS. MŚ. *adīkṣīslāyam brāhmano 'sāv amuṣya* . . ApŚ.

dāvyaḥ hotārāgnā (KS. AŚ. °gna, ŚŚ. °rā agna) *ājyasya vītam* MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ Since ŚŚ., if it stands for *hotārau*, is contrary to the rule which requires °rāv, we should perhaps read *hotārāgna* also in ŚŚ, or consider it a case of hiatus between *hotārā* and *agna*; the other texts of course have the form *hotārā*, not °rau No v l reported for ŚŚ

nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāu (VSK. MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK. MS TB ŚB. KS

namucāv (VSK MS KS °cā) *āsura sacā* RV. AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ

pañcabhur dhātā v dadhāv (MS KS. *dadhā*) *idam* TS MS KS. But MS. p p. *dadhe*

putram iva pitarāv (VSK. MS KS °rā) *āsvinnobhā* RV AV. VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ

praiśān sāmādhēnūr āghārāv ājyabhāgāv (KSA *āghārā ājyabhāgā*) *āśrutam* TS KSA

madhavyau stokāv (MS °kā) *apa tau rarādha* TS. MS

muṣkāv (VSK. *muṣkā*) *id asyā ejataḥ* AV. VS VSK ŚŚ

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ °yāv) *abhūtām* (MS °thām) MS KS † TB ApŚ

yadā carīṣnū mithunāv (MS. °nā) *abhūtām* RV. MS N

yo 'sāv (MU. 'sā) *āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sāv* (MU 'sā) *aham* VS MU

rādhanīl samprñcānāv (MS MŚ °sī °nā) *asam* MS. ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ.

viṣṇuḥ śipivīṣṭa ṭūrāv (VSK ṭūrā) *āsannah* VS VSK. *śipivīṣṭa ṭūrā āśādyamānah* KS

sacetasāv (VSK °sā, MS *samokasau sacetasā*) *arepasau* VS. VSK MS ŚB.: *samokasāv* (KS °sā) *arepasau* TS KS. Kauś

samāddhe agnāv (VSK. MS KS *agnā*) *adhi māmahanah* VS. VSK TS MS KS ŚB

samrājāv (MS °jā) *asya bhuvanasya rājataḥ* RV MS

sarasvatīm āsvināv (VSK MS KS °nā) *indram agnim* VS VSK MS KS ŚB. TB

sahas ca sahasyaś ca haimantilāv (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB.

upa (MS *utā*) *no mitrāvarunāv ihāvatam* (MS °nā *ihāgatam*) MS TB TA

ṛlena sthūnāv (MG. *ṛleva sthūnā*) *adhi* ApMB HG MG '

- tena* (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvarunāv* (MS. °nā) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *avi°*) RV MS TB
- madhuś ca mādhaveś ca vāsantīkāv* (VSK MS KS °kā) *ṛtū* VS VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB.
- viṣṇūvarunā* (TB °nāv) *abhiśastipāvā* (TB °pā vām) MS TB.
- yāv* (MS KS yā) *ātmanvad* .. AV. TS. MS KS
- agnim sve yonāv* (VSK. MS. KS yonā) *abhār ukhā* VS. VSK TS MS KS ŚB
- ahāv* (MS KS ahā) *anadatā hate* AV TS MS KS.
- ā tasthāv* (VSK. MS KS tasthā) *amṛtam divi* RV. VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB
- indravāhāv* (KS °hā) *ṛbhavo vājaratnāh* RV -KS
- mitrāvarunāv* (VSK °nā, MS *indrāvarunā*) *algābhyām* VS VSK MS
- vāsantīkāv* (KS *ime vās°*, MS KS °tikā) *ṛtū abhikālpamānāh* VS. MS KS TB.
- śaiśirāv* (MS °rā, KS *ime śaiśirā*) *ṛtū abhikālpamānāh* TS MS. KS. ŚB
- īṣaś corjaś ca śāradāv* (VSK MS KS °dā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB
- ubhā datārāv* (VSK MS KS °rā) *īṣām rayīnām* RV VS VSK. TS MS. KS ŚB
- ko nu vām mitrāvarunāv* (MS °nā) *ṛtāyan* RV MS. KB ŚB
- tapaś ca tapasyaś ca śaiśirāv* (VSK MS KS °rā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB.
- devi uṣāsāv* (VSK MS °sā) *aśvinā* VS VSK MS TB.
- davyāv* (VSK. °yā) *adhvaryū ā galam* VS VSK ŚŚ
- dhanasātāv* (VSK MS KS °tā) *ihāvatu* VS. VSK TS MS KS
- praharṣīno* (KS *ms °nam*, ed *em*) *madīrasya made mṛṣāsāv* (KS °sā) *astu* KS. ApŚ
- mahāntāv* (MS °tā) *indrāvarunā mahāvasū* RV MS
- yajñasya pakṣā* (TS °ṣāv) *ṛṣayo bhavanti* TS MS KS.
- yat prthivyām yad urāv* (VSK MS KS urā) *antarikṣe* VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB
- yā* (AV *omits*) *rājanye dundhubhāv* (KS.† °bhā) *āyatāyām* AV KS TB
- yo no mitrāvarunā abhidāsāt sapatnah* (TS °varunāv *abhidāsati*) TS MS
- imau* (Kauś *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK MS KS *pakṣā*) *ajarau palatrinau* (VSK TS.† KS °nah) VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB Kauś.
- rājānah samitāv* (VSK MS KS °tā) *wa* RV VS VSK TS MS KS
- vāyava ārohanavāhāv* (KSA °hā) *anadvāhau* TS KSA.
- venubhāram girāv* (KSA *girā*) *wa* TS KSA TB
- śacyā harī dhanutarāv* (KS °rā) *ataṣṭa* RV KS

śukraś ca śuciś ca graiṣmāv (VSK. MS KS °mā) *ṛtū* VS VSK TS MS
KS. ŚB

sūdrāryāv (VSK MS KS °yā) *asrjyetām* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB.

śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāv (VSK °nyā) [ahorātre] VS VSK

saṃ yāv apnastho (MS *yā apnastho*) *apaseva janān* RV MS

saṃśasāv (VSK °sā) *aśvinā dansobhīh* VS VSK ŚB

sahasāsā (RV also °sām) *medhasātāv* (VSK °lā) *wa tmanā* RV (bis)

VSK KB (This RV. repetition is omitted in RVRep)

somārudrāv (MS °drā) *iha su mṛdatam nah* RV AV MS

staumi devāv (MS KS devā) *aśvinau nāthito johanīm* TS MS KS

hatāghaśansū (TB °sāv) *ābharadvasū* MS KS TB

hatāghaśansāv (VSK. °sā) *ābhārṣtām vasu vāryām* VS VSK TB

hemantaśīśirāv (VSK MS KS °rā) *ṛtū* (TS *ṛtūnām*) VS VSK TS MS

KS ŚB

hotārāv (VSK MS °rā) *indram aśvinā* VS VSK MS TB

hotārāv (VSK MS KS °rā) *indram prathamā suvācā* VS VSK MS KS

TB

§889. The variants of *o* before other than *u*-vowels are

ubhayebhyah pra cikitsā gaviṣṭau (VSK *gaviṣṭau*) RV VS VSK

kuvī su no gaviṣṭaye (MS KS *gaviṣṭaye*) RV SV TS MS KS AB

AŚ ApŚ

ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau (VSK *gaviṣṭau*) RV VS VSK AB KB

eko bahūnām asī manyav īditāh (AV *manya īditā*) RV AV

tam tvā ghṛtasnav (VSK °sna) *īmahe* RV SV VSK ŚB

tava vāyav (VSK *vāya*) *ṛtaspatē* RV VS VSK ŚB

nyyubhān vāyav (VSK *vāya*) *ā gahī* RV ArŚ VS VSK

nyyudbhīr vāyav (VSK MS KS *vāya*) *iṣṭaye durone* RV VS VSK TS

MS KS

nyyudbhīr (AV *nyyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV VSK MS *vāya*) *iha* AV VS

VSK MS ŚB TA AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

mantrāvarunasya camasādhvaryav (MŚ °ya) *ādrava (ehi)* TS ŚB KŚ

ApŚ MŚ

vasat te viṣnav (KS *viṣna*) *āsa ā kṛnomi* RV SV TS KS AŚ

vy astabhnā (etc., §137) *rodasī viṣnav* (VSK MS KS *viṣna*) *ele* RV VS

VSK MS KS ŚB TA

sahasah sūnav (MS KS *sūna*) *āhuta* RV TS MS KS

§890. In the following *o* of voc sing is retained without change

sa no mayobhūh pīto (AŚ ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pīlav*) *āviśasva*

(AŚ *āviśeha*) TS TB AŚ ŚG PG SMB

tāsv adhvarīyav ādhāve° ŚŚ *tāsv adhvarīyo indrāya* AB AŚ

brhaspatīśulasya ta (MS *tā*, KS omits) *indo* (MS KS *inda*) *indrī°*
 TS MS. KS *brhaspatīśulasya deva soma ta inda indrī°* VSK

INITIAL *a* AFTER FINAL *e* AND *o*

§891. In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial *a* is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (*abhihiṭa*), while in the other form both the *a* and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of *a*. On the probable actual pronunciation of *e*, *o* when followed by written *a*, see Wackernagel I p. 324, the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question.

§892. On the principles governing writing or elision of initial *a* after *e* and *o* the *Prātisākhya*s give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the *a* is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr. 4. 78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (*ṛkṣu*).

§893. Early statements in western grammars add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the *a* was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not. Whitney, *Grammar* §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text'.

§894. Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr. 3. 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV instances, that

(a) In prose passages, *a* is omitted seven times out of eight

(b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf. Wackernagel, I, c, p. 324, bottom) of *a*, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven.

(c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of *a*, it is written nine times out of ten, except that at the beginning of a *pāda* in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five.

§895. If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from

Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least. To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 460 f, Wackernagel I p 325

General practice of Vedic texts

§896. Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition. Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the *a*, as in classical Sanskrit. But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the *a* frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the *a* in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the *a* came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the *a* was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out, perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases. That is, since the *a* would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts, while in prose texts the *a* tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters.

Evidence of the variants

§898. In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial *a* is elided at the beginning of a pāda. All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial *a*; whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the *a* is elided in four-fifths of such cases

in the AV ; and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr 138 (2. 13) requires that *a* should never be written in this position

§899. Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms: *a* written and *a* elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a pāda can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of *a*, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the *advocatus diaboli*, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case.

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV. passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV, mentioned in §894. Thus, in metrical passages where *a* is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases, the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where *a* is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases; the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV are very few (only 5); in two of them *a* is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

Metrical passages

§901. The *a* is pronounced in 59 metrical pādas among the variants; it is not pronounced in 10. In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written.

§902. When the *a* is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV, written 21 times, omitted 4; AV. 25 to 12; TS. 19 to 7, MS. 24 to 9. But it is lower than the general average in VS (10 to 6) and KS (20 to 16). SV. forms a striking exception; among the variants it has *a* written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no

accident due to the small numbers; they also write *a* 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV. school clearly tended against the writing of *a*, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of *a* predominates in the SV. school much more than in the others). While the SV. and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping *a* when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV. school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV. itself 21 to 4).

§903. When the *a* is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19). The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

§904. Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (239 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of *a* or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

Prose passages

§905. In the prose variants the school texts of SV. show a considerable preponderance of elided over written *a* (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittirīya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25). Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS. has a majority for *a* written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that *a* was pronounced).

Table of final a written or omitted after e and o

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of *a*, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation. Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words, are not counted.

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
RV	21	0	4	0	0	0
RVKh	1	0	1	0	0	0
RV school texts	14	2	11	1	9	14
SV	1	0	4	0	0	0
SV school texts	3	0	8	1	1	12
AV	25	6	12	0	2	3
AV school texts	4	1	1	0	1	2
VS	10	2	6	2	13	13
VSK	2	1	0	0	0	2
ŚB	8	0	5	1	8	10
Other Vāj school	5	1	4	0	0	3
TS	19	6	7	2	10	20
TB	17	2	9	0	3	8
ApŚ	10	0	7	4	8	11
Other Tait school	10	3	6	2	4	10

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
MS	24	6	9	3	21	15
Maitr. school	14	5	2	0	9	7
KS	20	8	16	3	15	18
Late and misc	5	3	5	0	1	3
Totals	213	46	117	19	105	151

§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the *a* was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items)

so *adhvarān* (AV. Kauś. 'dhvarān) *sa rtūn kalpayāh* RV AV TS MS
KS ŚB. Kauś.

anumate 'nu (KapS † *anu*) *manyasva na idam* (AV. 'nu *idam manyasva*)
AV KS. KapS. (quoted in note to KS.). *anumate 'nu manyasva*
(prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG

nir amum bhaja yo 'mitro asya TB.: *niṣ tam bhaja yo amitro asya* AV.
tatra śīrīye 'ja ekapādah AV.† 13 1. 6: *tasmān chīrīye aja ekapāl* TB
teṣām yo ajyānum (PG. 'jyānim) *ajūtm āvahāt* (SMB Cone *ajūm*
āvahāt, but Jørgensen as other texts) TS SMB PG. BDh
rco akṣare (NrpU. 'kṣare) *parame vyoman* RV. AV. GB. TB. TA. ŚvetU.
NrpU. N.

yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (ŚŚ *anyo*) *astī* JB. ŚŚ : *yasmād anyo na paro astī*
jālah PB : *yasmān na jālah paro anyo astī* (NrpU. 'stī) VS TB
ApŚ MahānU. NrpU.

ye agnayah (TS KS TB. ApŚ 'gnayah) *samanasah* (KS adds *sacetasah*)
VS TS MS. KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ

tam tvā viśve avantū (AV. 'vantu) *devāh* AV. ApMB. HG. A very poor
pāda but intended for *trīṣṭubh*.

- yo 'syēse dvīpado yaś catuṣpadah AV.: ya īse asya (MS. KS. * īse yo asya)
dvīpadaś catuṣpadah RV. VS TS MS KS (both)
- caisvānaro aṅgirasām (AV. 'ṅgi°, AŚ aṅgirobhaya) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.
- śucih śukre ahany ojasinā (MS ahann ojasine, KS †śukro ahany ojasye;
AŚ 'hany ojasinām) TS. MS KS AŚ.
- sūryo ahobhir (KS. suryo [misprint] 'hobhir) anu tāvatu KS TB.
- so asmān (MŚ asmān) adhipatīn karotu TS. MŚ.. so 'smān adhipatīn
kṛnotu ŚŚ
- svām tanvaṁ (TS TB. tanuam) varuno 'suṣot (TS. TB. aśīśret) TS. MS.
KS. TB. It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS. KS.
reading to an anuṣubh.
- agnir ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhah MS. agnir amṛto abhavad vayoḥbhiḥ (KS.
saḥobhah) RV. VS TS KS ŚB. ApMB
- na tā arvā repukakāto aśnute (AV. 'śnute) RV. AV. KS. TB AŚ Many
AV. mss. read aśnute
- adhi bruvantu te 'vanu (TS TB. ApŚ avantu) asmān RV. AV. VS TS.
MS KS TB. ApŚ.
- anūkair dveṣa ardaya (ŚŚ 'rdaya) MS. ŚŚ
- annam payo relo asmāsu (ŚB. 'smāsu) dhātā (MS. ApŚ. dhehi) VS MS.
KS ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.
- anyam te asman (NṛpU. 'sman) nī vapantu senāh RV. TS. NṛpU.
- anyo- 'nyo (Vait.-anyo) bhavati varno asya TB. Vait
- avāṣṭyo apo (TB. 'po) achā samudram RV. MS. KS. TB.
- pra vartaya divo asmānam (AV. 'smānam, v. l. aś°) indra RV. AV.
- prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan (TS avīṣyan) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB.
- namo astu (MŚ 'stu) parāyate AV. MŚ
- prāñico agāma (TA. prāñjo 'gāmā) nṛtaye hasāya RV. AV. TA.
- payo grheṣu payo 'stu tan nah MŚ.: payo vatsēṣu payo astu tan mayi
AB TB. AŚ. ApŚ
- ye agnayah pāñcajanāyāḥ (MŚ purīṣinah) VS ŚB MŚ : ye 'gnayah
purīṣyāḥ (KS. °ṣinah) TS KS ApŚ. JUB.
- dhātā samudro apa (AG. 'va) hantu pāpam AG. PG.: dh° sa° abhayaṁ
kṛnotu MG
- śīśu kṛdantlau pari yāto adhvaram (AV. arnavam, and 'rnavam) RV. AV.
MS TB.
- namo astu (VS. ŚB. KŚ PG NilarU. 'stu) sarpebhyah RVKh. VS. TS.
MS KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ PG. ApMB HG. MG. NilarU
- ye 'do (MS amī) rocane divah RVKh. TS MS. ApMB
- yo asyāḥ pṛthivyās tvaci TB ApŚ.: yo 'syāḥ (so all mss. but one, and so
Conc., but ed. † asyāḥ) pṛthivyā adhi tvaci MŚ.

- yo nah svo (AV svo yo) aranaḥ (SV 'ranah) RV SV AV AG ŚG
Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 40, thinks of inserting yo in RV., tho he fails to
note that AV reads so
vaṁśvānaro adabdhāḥ (AV. no adabdhāḥ, TA. me 'dabdhāḥ, MS ApŚ
'dabdhāḥ) tanūpāḥ AV. VS MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB.
ko ambādādate (AŚ 'mbā°) dadat MS AŚ
mayā so annam (AV 'nnam) atī yo vipāśyati RV AV
indra vājeṣu no 'va (TB ava, KS vaha) RV AV SV ArS MS KS TB
yad vā me api (LŚ 'pi, Vait apa) gachati AŚ Vait LŚ
ye agnayo divo ye prthivyāḥ MS ApŚ MŚ ye 'gnayo divo ye 'ntarikṣāt
KS (wrongly printed as prose in cd)
ye agnidagdḥā ye anagnidagdḥāḥ (TB Poona ed † 'nagnu°; so v 1 of AV)
RV AV. TB AŚ. ye agniṣvāllā ye 'nagniṣvāllāḥ (VS anagni°)
VS. TB ApŚ
sā tvam asy amo 'ham (ŚB BrhU PG. amo aham, ApMB amūham,
MG āpy amo 'ham) KS JUB ŚB BrhU AG ŚG PG ApMB
MG sa tvam asy amo 'ham AB
kikasābhya anūlyāt (ApMB 'nū°) RV AV ApMB
te asmat (TS 'smat) pūśān pra mucantv enasah (TS anhasah) AV TS
divo antebhyas (KS 'nte°) pari RV SV KS.
yo adya (PB 'dya) saumyo (AV senyo) vadhah AV PB AŚ —Ppp
'dya acc to Roth
vyāghro vanyāghre adhi (TB 'dhi) KS TB vyāghro adhi vanyāghre AV
ye anneṣu (VS KS 'nneṣu) vividhyanti VS TS MS KS
varṣiṣṭhe adhi (KS 'dhi) nāke TS KS TB
rājā me prāno amṛtam (TB 'mṛtam) VS † MS KS TB
idam (KS ā mā) varco (AŚ rādho) agnīnā (KS 'gmnā) datam āgāt (AV
āgan, KS etu) AV MS KS TB AŚ
vṛṣāyamāno 'vrnūta (AV av°) somam RV AV TB
śatātaye 'bhīmāṁsāhe (PG abhi°) TS KS MŚ SMB PG
kṛnūno (KS kurnūno) anyān (TS KS ApŚ † anyān, MS anyan, KS †
'nyān) adharān sapatnān AV TS MS KS KŚ ApŚ
śṛnwanty (PB °to) āpo adha (PB 'dhah) kṣarantīh RV PB
so adhvarā (AB 'dhvarā karati) jātavedāḥ AB ŚB Cadenced prose, cf
kṛnotu so .
annapale 'nnasya (MS KS MŚ MG an°) no dehi VS TS MS KS ŚB
TB ApŚ MŚ PrānāgU AG ŚG MG SMB Intended for
tristubh
ayam yo asya yasya ta idam śraḥ MŚ ayam yo 'sī yasya ta idam śraḥ
KS ApŚ

[*yo asya kauṣṭhya jagatah* MŚ *yo 'sya kauṣṭhya* (KS °{ha} ja° KS TA. ApŚ. So Conc ; but Van Gelder's ed reads 'sya for MŚ without v 1]

[*anamitram no* (VSK *me*) *adharāk* (AV °rāl) AV. VSK.† KS Conc 'dharāk for VSK]

[*bṛhaspate abhiṣaster* (AV ed 'bhi°) *amuñcah* AV. VS TS MS KS TAA But read *abhi°* in AV , see Whitney's note]

§908. In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the *a* seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided: *namo 'stu* (TS KS *astu*) *nīlagrīvāya* (NīlarU. *nīlaśikhandāya*) VS TS KS NīlarU BrhPDh

vīśvasmar bhūtāya dhruvo (TS ApŚ *bhūtāyādhuvaro*) *astu* (TS 'sī, MŚ † 'stu) *devāh* (TS omits) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

ye apsu śadānsi (KS 'psu sa°) *cakrre* MS KS

ye te 'ryaman (KS *arya°*) *bahavo devayānāh* TS MS KS † 10 13a

vājinām vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān VSK : *vājinām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān* ApŚ

yo 'gnim (AŚ *agnim*) *hotāram avṛthāh* TS AŚ ŚŚ †

jātavedo maruto adbhis (TB 'dbhis) *tamayitvā* TB ApŚ

kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (TA MahānU *ati duritāty*) *agnih* AV. TA. MahānU

aghorebhyo 'tha (MS *atha*) *ghorebhyah* MS TA MahānU.

yās ca devyo antān abhito tataniha SMB . *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (mss *talantha*) MG See §63 The meter is poor in any case

§909. We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the *a* may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written); or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions

anv adya no anumatih (AV Kauś 'nu°) AV MS ŚŚ MŚ Kauś

yān agnayo anvalapyanta (TS 'nva°) *dhiṣnyāh* AV TS MS

ye asmin (KS 'smin) *mahaty arnave* MS KS MŚ

jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat AV *jyog rāṣṭre adhī jāgarat* HG

jyok śrotre 'dhi (HG *adhī*) *jāgarat* AV HG

antarikṣe adhy (TS KS 'dhy) *āsate* TS MS KS MŚ

sarvābhyo abhayam (TB 'bhayam) *karat* RV AV TB N

garbho asy (MS 'sy) *oṣadhīnām* AV VS TS MS KS. ŚB Vait —Ppp. also 'sy (Barret JAOS 48 38)

tanvo adya (MS 'dya) *dadhātu me* AV MS

vasanto asyāsīd (VS 'syāsīd) *ājyam* RV AV VS TA The meter of VS (with *ājyam*) seems easier

satyam it lan na tvān (MS 'van) *anyo asti* (MS. 'sti) RV MS KS TB
The meter of MS (*tvāvan?*) is inferior

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

ūrubhyām te aṣṭhivadbhyām (ApMB 'ṣṭhr̥) RV AV ApMB

te asmā agnayo (MS 'ye, v. 1 'yo) *dravnam dattvā* MS ApŚ *te 'smā agnaye dravinān dattvā* KS. The meter of MS ApŚ is very poor
sviṣṭm no abhi (KŚ 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV TS KŚ
sviṣṭam no 'bhi vasyo nayantu KS MŚ

sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (VSK † KŚ † *adityā*, KS. *aditer*) *upasthe* VSK
TS KS. ŚŚ KŚ

eko vo devo apy (AV 'py) *atiṣṭhat* AV MS. *eko devo apy atiṣṭhat* TS KS

Only MS is certainly inconsistent (*a* written but not pronounced)

bheṣajam gave 'śvāya (MS *aśvāya*) VS TS MS ŚB LŚ *bheṣajam gave 'śvāya puruṣāya* KS In the last the attaching of *puruṣāya* to this pāda makes the elision of *a* better metrically

mā va eno anyakṛtam bhujema RV. *mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtam bhujema* KS In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation are consistent

tām u dhīrāso anudṣya yajante VS. ŚB (*a* not pronounced) *tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudṣyāyajanta* MS (*kavayo* looks like a secondary intrusion, cf KS in next form; without it *a-nu*° would have to be pronounced) *tām dhīrāso anudṣya* (VSK 'dṣya) *yajante* (KS *anudṣyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK. TS KS TB (*a* pronounced)

anyāns te asman (KS *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāh* MS KS Both writings are metrical VS TS have *anyam asman niva*° *tāh*, which is inferior to both MS and KS

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ 'po) *aganṛgan* (TS KSA ApŚ *agamāt*) VS TS. MS KSA ApŚ MŚ. Writing and pronunciation are consistent in all texts except VS, where one of the initial *a*'s must be omitted in reading, tho both are written

yo agnau rudro yo apsu antah AV (intended for *triṣṭubh*, reading *agnau*, *apsu*, and perhaps *rud-r-o*, but more likely a syllable short) *yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psu antah* ŚirasU. (meant for *anuṣṭubh*, 'gnau, 'psu). *yo rudro agnau yo apsu* (MŚ *rudro 'psu yo 'gnau*) *ya oṣadhīṣu* TS ApŚ MŚ (*triṣṭubh*; 'gnau, 'psu—inconsistent with the writing of TS ApŚ). *yo rudro agnau yo apsu*, (then as new pāda, correct Conc) *ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspathīṣu* KS (writing and pronunciation consistent).

so *asmān pātu sarvatah* AV.: so 'smān pātu (prose) TS

§910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53.

abhayam vo 'bhayam no astu (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB AŚ ŚŚ.: *abhayam me astu* (AB.† 'stu) AB. ApŚ

iṣe rāye (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . *dyumnāyorje* (VS ŚB.† *dyumna ūrje*) 'patyāya (VS.† ŚB.† *apa*°, TB.† *patyāya*, ApŚ. °*yorjapatyāya*) VS MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ ApŚ

etāni te aghnye (PB. 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS PB : *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table, the *a-* may or may not have been pronounced (*aghnye* or 'ghnye).

vīvarto aṣṭacatvārīṣah (MS 'ṣṭā°) MS KS . *vīvarto 'ṣṭā°* VS TS ŚB *yo 'smān* (MS MŚ *asmān*) *dveṣṭi yaṁ* (AV adds *ca*) *vayam dvīṣmah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB. TA MahānU KBU JUB AŚ. ŚŚ LŚ KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. HG. BDh This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with *asmān* in texts of the Maitr. school, with 'smān in all others, if the editions are to be trusted For other formulas containing it see the Conc under it, and also: *tam abhi śoca yo 'smān* etc.; *agne yat te tapas (tejas, 'rcis, śocis, haras)* etc ; *tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi* etc , *ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo tasmān* (ApŚ 'smān) etc MS ApŚ † 6 18 2; *abhy aham tam bhūyāsam* etc.; *prāham tam atibhūyāsam* (ApŚ †*abhi*°) etc ; *vy asau yo* etc.; *durmitrās* (or the like) etc.

devānām tvā patnīr devīr . *sadhasiṣṭhe aṅgīrasvad* (TS. 'ṅgī°) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *aditiṣ tvā* (°*tis tvā*), *dhiṣanās tvā*, *varūtrayo* (etc), *gnās tvā*

ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye (MS. KS *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ The same with *medhāyai manase*, *sarasvatyai pūṣṇe*, and *dikṣāyai tapase*

agneh (also, *indrasya*, *viśveṣām devānām*) *priyam pātho 'pāhi* (TS *apāhi*) VS 8 50, VSK 8 22 4, TS ŚB. 11 5 9. 12

yo matasyā dīśo abhidāsāt. (five formulas) MS *agnim* (also, *indram*, *mitrāvarunau*, *somam*) *sa* (TB *sa dīśām devatānām*) *rchatu yo matasyai* (KS °*syā*) *dīśo 'bhidāsati* KS TB. ApŚ.

namo agrīyāya (VS KS 'gryāya, MS. 'grīyāya) . . VS. TS MS KS *namo agrevadhāya* (MS KS. 'gre°) . . VS. MS TS. KS.

namo aparasadbhyaḥ (PB and v 1 of MŚ. 'para°) PB. MŚ

namo 'śvebhyo (TS *aś*°) 'śvapatiḥbhyāś *ca* . . VS. TS † MS KS

namas te astu (PB. JB LŚ SMB. 'stu) VS TS MS KS AB PB JB

- ŚB TB TA. TAA AŚ ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ AG Kauś SMB. ApMB
 ApG Occurs frequently, and apparently always with *astu* except
 in SV texts which read *'stu*
 namo vo *'stu* (AŚ ŚŚ *astu*) VS PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait SMB Here, in
 curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB reads *astu* according
 to Jørgensen's edition (not in the Conc), while *'stu* is read by VS.
 and Vait
 tebhyo namo *astu* (PG *'stu*) VS MS KS PG ŚB
 namo *'gnaya* (ApŚ *agnaya*) upadraṣṭre ŚŚ ApŚ
 namo *astu* (VS ŚB *'stu*) rudrebhyo ye antarikṣe (VS KS ŚB *'nlari°*)
 . VS MS KS ŚB MŚ Also namo *astu* (VS ŚB. KŚ *'stu*)
 ru° ye divi (and, pṛthivyām) VS MS KS ŚB KŚ MŚ
 namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyaś (KS *'rbha°*) ca . VS KS . namo
 brhadbhyo *'rbhakebhyaś* ca MS MŚ
 namo rathibhyo arathibhyaś (TS *'ralhe°*) ca VS TS
 yo no anī śapati tam elena jeṣam MŚ yo me *'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam*
elena jeṣam TS
 rudro *'gnī* (MS *agnī*) MS. TA ŚŚ
 rudro *'dhipatī* (MS *adhi°*) MS TA
 tasyāpo apsarasā (KS † *'psa°*, MS *'psarasā*) ūrjo nāma (TS *'psaraso*
mudāh) VS TS MS KS ŚB
 dhūrta (KS *°te*) namas te *astu* (KS *'stu*) KS ApŚ dhūrte namante
 (?) *astu* MS
 praty elā vāmā yajamāno *'grabhīd* (ŚŚ *agra°*) KB ŚŚ.
 prāno *agnīh* PrānūgU prāno *'gnīh* MU
 madhu hulam indratame *agnau* (LŚ *'gnau*) VS ŚB LŚ hulam havir
 indratame *'gnau* MS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ
 ye devā dūvidhāgā (MS *°gāh stha*) ye antarikṣabhāgā (TS KS *'nlari°*)
 . TS MS. KS
 śivam prajābhyo *'hinsantam* (KS † *ahin°*) sadhashe (VS ŚB *°sthād*)
agnim (TS *'gnim*) . VS TS MS KS ŚB —KS punctuates
 before *agnim*, so that elision of *a* is impossible
 sajur abdo ayavabhīh (TS ApŚ *'yāvabhīh*) VS TS ŚB ApŚ
 samadhāh-samudho *'gne-gna* (ŚŚ *°dho agna*, MŚ † *°dho 'gnā*) ājyasya
 vyantu AŚ ŚŚ MŚ samudho *agna* (MS *agnā*) ājyasya . . MS
 KS TB MŚ
 suyame me *adya* ApŚ . *sūyame me 'dya* MS
 agnir adhi vryatto *asyām* KS agnir vryatto *'syām* TS
 agne yat te *'rcis* (MS *arcis*) tena . . AV MS KS ApŚ
 aṅgiras me *asya* (KS *'sya*) yajñasya prātaranavāhar ahausuh MS KS

- tam* (KS † *tat*) *tvendragraha* *saha yan me 'sti* (ApŚ *asti*) *tena* KS
 ApŚ *tam tvā pra viśāmi* *saha yan me 'sti tena* AV
dīśo abhy alhūd ayaṃ MS KS MŚ *dīśo bhy ayaṃ rājābhūt* TS TB
 Semblance of meter, perhaps to be classed with metrical variants
anumitraś (TS *antyami*°) *ca dūre-amitraś* (MS 'mitraś) *ca gaṇah* VS
 TS MS KS
andho ačetaḥ (TS ApŚ 'chetah) VS TS KS ApŚ Ed of KS 'chetah,
 but the sole ms *aščetaḥ*
apāgne agniṃ (TS MS TB MŚ ApŚ 'gnim) *āmādam jahī* VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ
apsu dhautasya . yo aśvasanus (KS 'śva°) MS KS: ..yo
bhakṣo aśvasanir TS
aśvibhyām tirohnyānām (MŚ *tirohnyānām*) *somānām anubrūhi* ApŚ
 MŚ Also *tirohnyān* (MŚ *aśvibhyām tirohnyān*) *somān pras-*
thitān preṣya ApŚ MŚ
ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvara āsthāt, KS 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ
adhvare sthāt) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
 - *āpo devīr agrepuvo* . TS TB *devīr āpo 'greguvo 'grenīyo*
 MS MŚ *devīr āpo agrevavah premam* . KS
ye devāḥ purasado (so also TS, for which Conc † *parah*°) 'gnimetrā
 (MS *agni*°) TS MS. KS BDh
dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvatī VS TS ŚB TB *dhvara dhvarantam yo*
asmān dhvarāt MS
agnis te 'gram TS *agniḥ te agram* . MŚ
somo 'smākam (KS *asm*°) *brāhmanānām rājā* VS VSK TS MS KS
 ŚB TB MŚ ApŚ
svadhā pītrbhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyah (AV *antar*°, GG † 'ntarī°) AV ApŚ.
 MŚ GG HG
yo asmi so asmi AV *yo 'smi sa san yaje* MS KS AB *yo 'ham asmi sa*
san yaje TB ApŚ
tutho vo viśvavedā vibhagatu varṣiṣthe adhī (KS 'dhi) *nāke* . TS MS.
 KS
nirasto aghaśansah (ApŚ 'gha°) KS ApŚ
 [devo *narāśanso 'gnau* (ŚŚ † 'gnā) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu* AŚ ŚŚ
 Conc quotes *agnā* for ŚŚ]
 [yena *turyena brahmanā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās* JB *yena rūpena*
prajāpalaye † *vapathās* (Conc *ava*°). KS]
 §911. Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final *e* and
 initial *a* occur among the variants For a single case of *y* as 'Hiatus-
 tilger' developed between *e* and *a*, see §338 In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of *e* into *ay* before *a* and *ā*; but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple.

tve ā (SV. *twāyā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasah* RV SV. A loc in RV is replaced by an instr. in SV, with resolution of *e* to *ay*, this time however before long *ā*.

ubhe id asyobhayasya (AV *asyobhe asya*) *rājatah* RV. AV Followed by *ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV. *ubhe asya*) *puṣyatah* RV. AV The verse is mystic and obscure. If the AV. text is right, it seems to have understood the original *ubhay-* as representing *ubhe*, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding *ubhe*; so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question. Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV reading, but keeps the AV. reading in the second.

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc we would seem to have a single similar case of *av* for *o* before *a*:

dyāvāprthivī uro antarikṣa VS VSK MS KS ŚB; the Conc quotes *urav* for *uro* in VSK. But the actual text is *urv*. If the text as printed (with *antariṣa*, not **kṣam*) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, *dyāvā° urv antarikṣam* AV. TS.

SANDHI OF *a*-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING *r*

§913. The variants indicate the following school tendencies. Rig-vedic and Vājasaneyam texts write *a-r* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*. This is prescribed by RPr. 136 (2 11) and VPr 4 48 (which gives *a-r* for *ā-r* and makes no reference to *a-r*, implying no change).

§914. Taittirīya texts and KS write *ar* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*, as prescribed by TPr. 10 8. So does LŚ in the single variant noted.

§915. The rule of APr 3 46 is like that of TPr, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r*. But the mss of AV, according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the *r* is not followed by a sibilant, when a sibilant follows they generally write *a-r* (because of *svaṛabhakti*, Whitney on APr 1 101). There are exceptions in the mss, and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice. As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc) agrees throughout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss, namely, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r* except when a sibilant follows, in that case *a-r*. Both Vait and Kauś sometimes write *ar* even when a sibilant follows, the instances recorded are few.

§916. Maitrīyaṇiya texts regularly write *ā-r* and *a-r* without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten *ā* to *a*; so in one variant, see *yad dīdayac* (*°yañ*) etc., §918. Two variants occur in which final *a* is lengthened to *ā* before *r* in MS, these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final *a*, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919. *yatrā ṛṣayo jagmuh* and *yenā ṛṣayas tapasā*. There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, *ar*, is apparently found for *ā-r* in MS.

savitre tvarbhumate (VS ŚB *tva ṛbhu°*, MS *tvarbhū°*) VS MS ŚB
TA This sandhi is unique among the MS variants. It is perhaps worth noting that two mss. read *svarbhu°*, but p p *tvā, ṛbhu°*. Cf. §549, and Wackernagel I §267aα, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if *ar*) in all variants, even for texts which write the *r*-vowel separately.

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS, attention will be called to them as they occur.

§918. The following are the cases concerning *ā* followed by *r*
savitre tvarbhumate (VS ŚB. *tva ṛbhu°*, MS *tvarbhū°*) . VS MS ŚB
TA See §916

yad dīdayac chavasa (MS. *°yañ śavasa*; TS *°sā*) *ṛtaprajāta* (KS *chav-asarta°*) RV VS TS MS KS AB. This is the only case in which MS shortens *ā* to *a*; see §916. The TS reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kandikā*, which always suspends all sandhi; it is no real exception to the Tait practice.

dvā yanlārā bhavalas tatha ṛtuh (TS. KSA *tathartuh*, MŚ *tathā ṛtuh*)
RV. VS TS KSA MŚ

agnīṛhvebhyas (MS *agnīhvarebhyas*) *tvaritāyubhya[h]* (MS *tvā ṛtā°*)
.. TS MS KS

yatha tnam samnayāmasi (AV *yatharnam samnayanti*) RV AV.

yatha ṛtava (AV TA. *yathartava*) *ṛtubhir yanti sādhu* (AV *sāham*, TA *klptāh*) RV AV. TA

śāha ṛṣabham (MS *śāhā ṛṣ°*, TB *śvāharṣ°*) VS MS TB

viśvakaarma ṛṣih (MS *°mā ṛṣih*, KS *°marsih*) VS MS KS ŚB

tapasarṣayah (MahānU. *°sarṣayah*) *swar* (TB *sva*) *anvayindan* TB TA
MahānU. The MahānU. reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm., which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pāṇ 6 1 128.

yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih AV · *yo vām ratha ṛjuraśmih satya-dharmā* TS MS KS Here only AV has this sandhi, the other texts stand for *rathas* plus *ṛju*° Note, however, that the meter favors the pronunciation *ratharju*°, with double crasis, even in the YV texts

[*viśvādhiko rudro maharsih* (TA Conc *maharsih*, but Poona ed correctly *maharsih*) TA MahānU]

§919 The rest are cases of short *a* followed by *r*

yatra ṛṣayo (MS *yathā ṛ*°, KS *yatrar*°) *jagmah* VS MS KS ŚB

On the MS forms of this and the next cf §916

yena ṛṣayas (MS MŚ *yenā ṛ*°, TS KS ApŚ *yenar*°) *tapasā* VS

TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ KŚ MŚ Cf prec

yatrarṣayah (Kauś *yatra ṛs*°) *prathamajā ye* (Kauś °*jāh*, om *ye*) *purā-nāh* TS TB ApŚ Kauś

śāradena (also, *śaśīrena*, *vasantena*, *hemantena*) *ṛtunā* (KS TB °*nar-tunā*) VS MS KS TB KŚ

ṛtuśthā (MS °*āh*, KS °*ās*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS *sthartusprāh*) VS MS KS ŚB

ṛtava (KS °*vas*) *stha ṛtāvṛdhah* (KS † *sthartā*°) VS KS ŚB *ṛtasthā sthartāvṛdhah* TS

medhām sapta ṛṣayo (ApMB *saptar*°) *daduh* ApMB RVKh But Schefftelowitz reads *saptarṣayo* also in RVKh

srāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpnuta ṛbhavah (TB [so Poona ed] ApŚ *tṛpnu-tarbhavah*) RV TB ApŚ

brāhmanam adya ṛdhyāsam (KS *adyardh*°) MS KS MŚ

tasya ṛksāmāny (TS KS *tasyaḥ*°) VS TS MS KS ŚB

tvām adya ṛṣa ārṣeya ṛṣinām (KS † TB *adyarṣa ārṣeyarṣinām*) VS MS KS TB

avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram (TB *avartyai tvadhā*°, so Poona ed) VS TB

yathāham bharata ṛṣabha (ŚŚ *bharatarṣ*°) AB ŚŚ The only irregular case in ŚŚ or any RV text among the variants No v 1 is recorded

yebhyo na rte (TS KS *narte*) *pavate dhāma kīmcana* VS TS MS KS ŚB

tarunasya ṛtasadanam (KS °*syarta*°) *asī* VS KS ŚB

varunasya ṛtasadany (ApŚ °*syarta*°) *asī* VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ

ṛṣṭiyasya saianasya ṛbhumato (ApŚ °*narṣyarbhu*°) KŚ ApŚ MŚ

tenarṣinā (MS AŚ *tena ṛṣinā*) TS MS TB AŚ ApŚ

śrūta ṛsim (TB *śrutarṣim*) *ugram abhīmātīṣṭham* RV MS TB

śivo me saptarṣin (KŚ MŚ *sapta ṛṣin*) TS Vait KŚ MŚ Note
ar in Vait even before a sibilant, cf §915

satyaś (VS *śukraś*) *ca ṛtapās* (TS KS *carta*°) *cātyanhāh* VS TS MS KS
saptarṣayah (VS MS *sapta ṛ*°) *sapta dhāma priyāni* VS TS MS KS

TB In TS 1 5 3 2b *sapta ṛṣ*° is read without sandhi merely because a *kandikā* ends here, it is no real exception to the rule
sapta ṛṣayo (TS KS *saptar*°) 'srjyanta VS. TS MS KS ŚB'

saptarṣinām (ApŚ Kauś *saptar*°) *sukṛtām yatra lokah* Vait KS MŚ
 ApŚ Kauś Note *ar* in Kauś even before a sibilant (one ms *ar*),
 cf §915

saptarṣin (ApŚ *saptarṣin*) *jinvā* ApŚ KS
upahūtā dhenuh (ŚB *gāvah*) *saharṣabhā* (ŚB °bhāh, AŚ ŚŚ † *saharṣabhā*)

TS TB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Irregular sandhi in ŚB
upā mā (AŚ ŚŚ *mām*) *dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ ŚŚ *saharṣ*°) . TB
 AŚ ŚŚ

indrartubhir brahmanā vāvṛdhānah TB ApŚ · *indra ṛbhubhir brahmanā*
samvīdānah ŚŚ

indro vidyāt saha ṛṣibhih (KS *saharṣ*°) RV AV KS ApMB In ApMB
 we must certainly read *saharṣibhih* with four mss, in accord with
 Tait usage, Winternitz prints *saha ṛ*° with only one ms

upā ṛṣabhasya (TB LŚ *uparṣ*°) *retasī* (AV *vad retah*) RV AV TB LŚ
indrāya ṛṣabhena VS *indrāyarṣabhenāśvibhyām sarasvatyai* TB
ṛnān no namam ertsamānah AV *nen na ṛnān ṛnava it samānah* TA
nem na ṛnān ṛnavān īpsamānah MS Only AV has this sandhi
 (*na, ṛnam*), the others *nas, ṛ-*

yatrā sapta ṛṣin (TS KS *yatra saptarṣin*) *para ekam āhuh* RV VS TS
 MS KS N

yathauka ṛṣir (KS °*karṣir*) *vijānate* KS TA ApŚ Only KS. has this
 sandhi, the others *eka(h) ṛṣir*, two words

SANDHI OF FINAL *n*

§920. On this subject the variants throw little new light School
 tendencies are seldom discernible, when they do seem to appear, other
 known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence

I Final *n* before initial vowels

§921. All the variant passages concern forms which originally (pre
 historically) ended in *s*, except a small group, mainly locative singulars
 of *n*-stems, in which the ending *n* (appearing as *nn*) varies with *ny*
 These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics, they
 hardly belong in this place

1. Final *ān* before vowels

§922. The Prāśākhya in general (RPr. 284 [4. 26], VPr. 3 141, AP. 2. 27) make *anusāra* the rule, but with numerous exceptions. Whitney's note says that AV. more often retains *n*. TPr. 9. 20-24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization; Whitney's note (p. 225) states that TS. retains *n* five times out of six.

§923. Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS. show *anusāra* more often than *n*; but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr. texts and KS. show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr. texts when they change *n* to *anusāra*, they generally also shorten the preceding *i* to *ṛ*; cf. Schroeder, MS., Einleitung, p. XXIX. When this shortening of *i* is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and *s-sorists* (only one of the last).

§924. The cases involving accusatives plural in *ān* are:

agnis tār (MS. † *tār*, KS. † *tār*, TS. TA. *agnis tār*) *agre pra* ... AV. TS MS. KS. TA. The same with *vāyus* (AV. † *tār*).

agne devā (MS. *devān*, ŚG. *devān*) *ihā raha* RV. AV. SV VS TS MS KS. TB. AS. SS. ApS. ŚG. The isolated form of ŚG. is suspicious (misprint or error?).

aj anyā (VS ŚB. *anyān*) *agān nāyān* (VS. ŚB. *nānyān*) *upāgān* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MS. ApS.

adhā (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *supatnān* (KS. *twice† 'nān*; TS. *twice† 'nān*, once *'nār*) *indro me* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApS. MS.

asvān (MS. KS. *asvān*) *u devā* ... RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS

iḍṣemān anu vāṣṭān *ghṛīṇa* ApS. MS.: *iḍṣemān anu vāṣṭān vṛatena* AV.

uragānān sūn (MS. *sūn*, AV. *sūn*) *aham* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

daṭ devā soma ... *devā* (TS. KS. ApS. *devān*) *upāgān* VS KS TS ŚB. ApS.: ... *devān upāgān* MS.

kurāṇo (KS. *kurāṇo*) *anyān* (TS. KS. ApS. † *anyān*, KS. *'nyān*) *adhān* *supatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KS. ApS.

janābhis (KS. *'jābhis*) *tasvān* (KS. *'rān*) *utā* VS. TS. KS. *janāb* *tasvān* (p p. *'rān*) *utā* MS

pradān (MS. *'dār*, GB. Vait. *'dān*) *alam-tu* TS. GB. ŚB. Var. KS. ApS. MS.

mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt TS . *ned eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat* MS
maṛṣo asmān avahāya parāgāt KS
yān (AV TS MS KS *Vait yān*) *āvaha uśato deva devān* AV VS TS
 MS KS ŚB. KŚ *Vait*
yā devīr antān abhīto 'dadanta AV *yās ca devīr* (SMB *devyo*) *antān etc.*
 ApMB. SMB. HG *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān eṭc* MG
rakṣohāmītrān (VS *°trān*) *apabādhamānah* RV AV SV VS TS MS.
 KS
vājo devān (MS KS *devān*) *rtubhah kalpayāti* VS TS MS KS
sarvān (MS *°van*) *agnīnr apsuśado huve vah* (MS omits *vah*) TS MS.
 AV . *śivān agnīn apsuśado havāmahe* AV.
sarvān apa yajumasi Kauś . *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS † TB TAA. ApŚ
so asmān (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhīpatīn karotu* TS MŚ . *so 'smān adhīpatīn*
hṛnotu ŚŚ
ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV
 §925. Nominatives singular in *ān* are concerned in the following:
agnih praviśvān (MS *°van*, KS *°vān*) *iha tat . .* MS KS. ApŚ
idāvān (MS. *°vān*) *eṣo asura prajāvān* RV. TS MS KS
iṣṭo yajño bhṛguḥ . *āśīrvān* (ApŚ *°vān*) *atharvabhīh* KS ApŚ
clitvān (MŚ *°vān*) *anu manyatām* TS KS MŚ
pumān enam tanuta ut hṛnati RV *pumān enad vayaty udgrnati* AV
vīśalyo vānavān (TS MS KS *bā°*, MS. *°van*, v l *°vān*, KS NīlarU
°vān) *ula* VS TS MS KS NīlarU
payasvān (TS TB ApMB *°vān*) *agna āgamam* AV VS TS MS KS
 JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB
pra yo yajñe vidvān (AV *vidvān*) *asya bandhum* (AV. *°dhuḥ*) AV TS KS
haviṣmān (KS *°mān*) *astu sūryah* VS TS MS KS ŚB
 [adha *tvīṣmān* *abhy aśasā . .* RV SV † (Cone *tvīṣmān* for SV)]
 §926. We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form
sarvān (MS *°van*) *agnīnr apsuśado huve vah* (MS. omits *vah*) TS MS
 KS ŚB

2 Final *in* and *ūn* before vowels

§927. For this sandhi RPr 289 (4 29) requires *īnr*, *ūnr*. The other
 Prs allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than
 RV See APr 2 29 and Whitney's note, TPr 9. 20 and Whitney's
 note, VPr 3 140 The variants include very few cases, not enough to
 justify deductions

sarvān (MS *°van*) *agnīnr apsuśado huve vah* (MS. omits *vah*) TS MS
 AB *śivān agnīn apsuśado havāmahe* AV

padā panīnr (SV *panīn*) *arādhasah* RV SV AV
ṛtūnr (TB *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj* RV AV MS TB
ṛtūn (AV *ṛtūnr*) *ulsrjate vaśi* AV SV TB AŚ ŚŚ
[tīsrō bhāmīr dhārayan (MS °yans) *trīnr ula dyūn* RV TS MS KS AŚ.

In this variant the printed text of MS reads *trīnr*, with nasa consonant *n*, instead of *tīnr*. This reading, which the Conc ignores, is no doubt merely a slip, or a bad writing, for *trīnr*]

3 Final *nn* varying with *ny* before vowels

§928. As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of *n*-stems

asmin brahmany asmin karmany. AV *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre*
 (ŚŚ adds 'smin karmany) KS ŚŚ *asmin brahmann asmin*
karmann (PG *karmany*) TS ApŚ PG . te nah pāntv *asmin*
brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmin karmany. MS

ātmann (IŚU °ny) *evānupaśyati* VS IŚU

śucih śukre ahany ojasinā (MS *ahann ojasīne*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*,
 AŚ 'hany ojasinām) TS MS KS AŚ.

[*divye dhāmann* (once °ny acc to Conc) *upakūlah* (once °lā) TB (both)
 But Poona ed *dhāmann* both times]

[*trīṇye dhāmany abhy* (VS *dhāmann adhy*) *arayanta* VS TS MahānU
 So Conc, but TA MahānU both have *dhāmāny*, acc plur]

One isolated case concerning verb forms

ajany agnir holā (ApŚ *ajann agnih*) KS ApŚ See VV I p 51

II Final *n* before initial consonants

§929 Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies. The insertion of a sibilant, before which *n* becomes *anusvāra*, is commoner in later texts than in RV

1 Final *n* before *c*

§930. RPr 228 (4 4) requires *ñ*, but numerous exceptions are mentioned, cf 293f (4 32) VPr 3 133 and APr 2 26 require *ns*, and so does TPr 5 20f, with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on APr 1 c says that this rule is universally followed in the mss and text of AV, a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV be excluded from consideration (the Pr in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find *n* represented by *anusvāra* without an inserted sibilant. The variants are

acṛitvāñ (AV °vāñs) *cikituṣaś cid atra* RV AV
anadvāñs (TS °vāñ) *ca me* VS TS KS *dhenus cānadvāñs ca* MS MS
asmāñs (RV KS *asmāñ*) *calre mānyasya medhā* RV MS KS Most
 mss of MS *asmāñ* (with dental *n*), v 1 of KS *asmāñs*
ghoṣenāmivāñs cālayata (PB °mivāñ *cālayadhvam*) TB PB ApŚ
tām arayanś candāmasi svadhābhīh MS KS *yām arayanś* (TS °yāñ)
 etc VS TS ŚB
mahā pitum papivāñ (AV 20, °vāñ) *cārv annā* RV AV
vajñ (AV 20, SV *vajrñ*) *citrābhīr ūtibhīh* RV AV SV MS
asmāñ (SV. *asmāñ*) *citrābhīr avalād abhiṣṭibhīh* RV. SV

2 Final *n* before *t*

§931. The usage fluctuates here also RPr 295 (4 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done So also TPr 6 14 In the few variants found, the RV and TS schools, and KS, generally keep the nasal unchanged On the other hand APr 2 26 and VPr 3 134 require *ns*, tho both allow exceptions The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith, and Maitr texts seem also to favor *ns* But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive Besides the writings *n* and *ns*, a couple of cases of *n* alone without the sibilant occur, as before *c*, above, and before *j*, below, probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for *n*

§932. The following variants occur,

agnir āyusmāñ sa vanaspatibhīr āyusmāñ (PG KS °māñs) *tena* (KS *tasyāñ*) TS KS PG ApMB (in the last with punctuation after *āyusmāñ*)
aśmans (KS *aśman*) *te kṣut* VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ
īharva san tatra sato vo agnayah TB *īharva san* (MŚ *sans*) *tatra santam*
tvāgne TB AŚ MŚ
tasmīn (Vait MŚ °mīns) *tad eno* RV TAA Vait MŚ
tisro bhūmīr dhārayan (MS °yans) *trīnūr* (MS text *†trīnūr*) *uta dyūn* RV
 TS MS KS AŚ
paśūns (RV *paśūn*) *tāñs calre vāyavyāñ* RV AV VS TA
pūsañ (ŚB TB *pūṣans*) *tava vrate vayam* RV AV VS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
śarman (MS *śarmans*) *te syāma* MS KS TA *tava syāma śarmans*
trivarūtha VS *tava syām śarman trivarūtha* TS
dhāman (AG *dhāman*) *te rīsvam* RV VS KS AŚ ApŚ AG ŚG
brahman (MS KS *brahmāñs*) *tvam* (MŚ *tvam me*) *brahmāsi* VS MS
 KS ŚB MŚ *brahmāñ* (TB °māñ) *tvam rājan brahmāsi* TS TB
 ApŚ (in the last with punctuation after *brahmāñ*)

[*brahman tvam asi* MahānU . acc to Conc *brahman* etc in TA but the Poona ed of TA reads *brahman*]

3 Final *n* before *j*

§933. The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of *n* to *ñ*. This is prescribed by the Prātiśākhya RPr 228 (4 4), APr. 2 11, TPr 5 24, VPr 4 92. For *ñ* the spelling *n* occurs very commonly in mss of many, perhaps most, texts. Thus in the AV. mss, according to Whitney (note to APr 1 c), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed., Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing *ñ* before *j*, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken. A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write *ñ*. We find, in fact, *n* in all the AV. variants, and also in SV in the two variants recorded there (But in ArS once *ñ*). Compare the like writing before *c* and *t*, above.

§934. The variants from VS and ŚB, following Weber's editions, print dental *n* before *j*, not *ñ*. Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear. His note on VPr. 1 c (ISl 4 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss follow the Prātiśākhya. Perhaps some of his other mss keep dental *n* if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS and ŚB on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber. Note that the comm on VPr 4 92 quotes as an example of the rule *ayam vājāñ jayatu*, VS 5 37, which Weber prints *vājān*.

§935. According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS. also reads *n*, not *ñ*, before *j* in all the variant passages noted. The sole variant noted from another Maitr. school text is MS 1 6 3 15b, where Knauer's edition reads *qrhāñ jugupalam yuam* with a majority of his mss, but against that which he regards as the best, its reading is *qrhān*, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS passage according to Von Schroeder.—KS usually reads *ñ* but once *n* (*yat te asmin* etc., below). Most other texts read *ñ*, except in so far as they show *n* (cf. above).

§936. The following are the variants
adyā devāñ (VS *devān*) *juṣṭatamo hi gamyāh* RV VS TS KSA
akūś ca sarvāñ (TS KS *sarvāñ*) *jambhayan* (KS **ya*) VS TS MS KS
āyusmāñ (PG ApMB **māñ*, RVKh VS **mān*) *jaradaṣṭir* RVKh
 AV VS AG. PG ApMB Scheftelowitz reads *āyusmān* for
 RVKh. The mss of PG have corruptly *āyusyam*

- lam agañ (AV agan) janayopanah RV. AV N.
garbhah samjāyase punah MS : garbhe sañ (VS ŚB san, KS sam-) j° p°
RV VS TS KS ŚB
- tam arcisā sphūrjayañ (AV °yan) jātavedah RV AV.
tvam elāñ (AV elān) janarājño dvir daśa RV AV
te asmin (TS KS asmiñ) javam ādaduh VS. TS MS. KS ŚB
devān (RV TB. devāñ) jgūti sumnayañ RV MS ŚB TB
paśyañ (AV °yan) janmān sūrya RV. AV ArS N
pitṛñ (KŚ pitṛn) jinva TS KS PB Vait KŚ ApŚ . ojasā pitrbhyah
pitṛn jinva MS
- prajāḥ kṛnvan janayan virūpāh MS prajā vikṛnvañ (ApŚ vikurvañ)
janayan virūpam (ApŚ. °pāh) KS ApŚ
praty ajātān (AV °tān, TS KS. TA °tāñ) jātavedo nudasva AV. VS.
VSK TS MS KS TA
- māre asman maghavañ (SV. °van) jyok kah RV SV
yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi KS · yod adya te ghora āsan juhomi MS :
yasyās te ghora āsan ju° VS ŚB yasyās te asyāh kṛ ūra āsañ ju° TS.
ApŚ Exception in KS
- yāns (TA Poona ed. jyās) te soma prānāns tām (Poona ed tām, MahānU
tāñ) juhomi TA MahānU
- vibhrājañ (AV SV. °jan) jyotiṣā svah RV. AV SV.
vṛtrāni vṛtrahañ (AV. °han) jah RV AV.
satyāñṛte avapaśyañ (AV. °yan, MS °yan) janānām RV AV. TS. MS
ApMB. This is quoted by Apr. 2 11 as an example of ñ before j'
saptarṣiñ (KŚ saptarṣin) jinva KŚ ApŚ
[grhān (MŚ grhāñ, read grhān, see above, §935) juḡupatam yuvam MS
MŚ]

4 Final *n* before *ś*

§937. Before *ś*, the regular sandhi of *n* requires ñ, which however is often written *n*, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV and AV. The *ś* changes to *ch* (representing *t-ś*) But in the single variant noted from the YV Samhitās, TS alone has this regular ñ-*ch*, MS and VS keep *ś* unchanged, MS writing ñ before it and VS. *n*, the sole ms of KSA reads like VS, but von Schroeder emended to ñ-*ch* in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows *ś*, in which case *ś* is retained by VPr. 4. 94. We begin with this variant

ādityāñ chmaśrubhāh (VS and ms of KSA °tyāñ śma°, MS °tyāñ śma°)
VS TS MS KSA,

asmiñ (AV. *asmiñ*) *chūra savane mādayasva* RV AV.

tām nah pūṣaṇ chivatāmām crayasva IIG : *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV *pūṣaṇ*)
chi° . . RV. AV. ApMB

divi ṣaṇ (AV. *ṣaṇ*, SV. *saṇ*) *chukra ālatah* RV AV SV

maghavaṇ (AV. SV. PB. TB. Conc °*van*, TB Poona ed °*vaṇ*) *chagdh*
. . . RV. AV. SV. PB TB. TA ApŚ. MahānU.

yācchreṣṭhābhīr maghavaṇ chūra jīva RV . *yāvacchreṣṭhābhīr maghavan*
chūra AV.

ya te rājaṇ (AG. *rājan*) *chitam havih* RV. AG. ŚG.

sūro na ruruḥvāṇ (SV. °*vāṇ*) *chatātmā* RV SV.

parānciṣā mūradevāṇ (AV. °*vāṇ*) *chṛiṇi* RV AV

pratyāñcam arkam anayaṇ (AV. °*yaṇ*) *charibhih* RV. AV.

śatam hemantāṇ (AV. °*tāṇ*) *chatam u vasantāṇ* RV AV. N.

5 Final *n* before *s*

§938. Before *s*, the insertion of *t* after final *n* is required by Apr 2 9 and TPr 5 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr 236 (4 6), of the divergent views recorded in VPr 4 14f. It is quite common in all texts, likewise the analogous insertion of *k* after final *n̄* before *s*. Cf Wackernagel I §282 The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of *t* in such cases. It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray cases in which final *n* before *s* varies with *anusvāra*, most of them concern *san*· *sam*, in the latter case the preposition *sam* being felt as involved.

brahman (IŚ * *brahman*) *stosyāmah praśāstah* KB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
Vait IŚ. (bis) ApŚ MŚ

sasavān san (MS *sam*) *stūyase* . RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The
p p. of MS *san*, all samh mss *sam* The other texts all actually
read *sant*, except KS *san*

pumānsam vardhatām mayi ŚG. (Conc says that this is an error for
pumān samva°, but the text is correct, see §97). *pumān sam-*
vatatām mayi PG

jihvā pavitram aśvināsan (TB °*nā sam*) *śvasvati* VS MS KS TB.

§939. To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a
complete list—in which *k* is alternatively added after final *n̄* before *s*
pratyāṇ (VS TS. MS † ŚB * TB *pratyāṇk*) *somo atidrutah* (with var)
AV VS VSK MS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ. Poona ed of TB.

pratyāṇ

pnāṇ (VS. TB *prāṇk*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK ŚB. TB. ApŚ Again
Poona ed. of TB *prāṇ*.

6. Final *n* before *p*

§940. The only cases noted concern *n̄nṣ* or *n̄nh* for *n̄n*, since this variation really concerns final *s* before *h* and *p*, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965

7. Final *n* before *l*

§941. Only a single case has been noted, AV writes *jayam* (*jayan*) for *jayan* according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc would read *jayan*. In any case it is purely a matter of orthography. *samjayan* (AV. ed. *jayam*) *kṣetrān*. . AV TS MS KS KŚ

8. Final *n* before *y*

§942. See RPr. 287 (4. 28), VPr 3 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

dadhanvān (MS KS °vān, VS ŚB TB °vā) *yo naryo apsv antar ā*
RV SV. VS MS KS. ŚB TB

9. Final *n* before *l*

§943. Two variants

agnīṣ tān (VS *tān*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (etc.) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
ApŚ SMB · *agnīṣ tān asmāt* AV MŚ Inconsistent with
RPr 227 (4. 4) and Wackernagel I §281b, the VS reading also
inconsistent with VPr 4 13, which requires nasalized *l*. Cf further
APr. 2. 35, TPr. 5 26. A nasalized *l* is required by all authorities
and was probably pronounced in all texts

eṣa me 'muṣmin (GB. 'muṣminl, Gastra) *loke prakāśo 'sat* PB GB †
2 5 8

[*viṣnus tryaksarena trīnl lokān* (VSK *trīn imānl lokān*, TS † *trīn lokān*)
.... VS VSK. TS]

10. Final *n* before *v*

§944. One variant

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśvān*) *voce* RV SV N Cf RPr 287 (4. 28),
APr 2 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77 2d

CHANGE OF DENTAL *n* TO LINGUAL *n*

§945. The variants of course mainly concern the change of *n* to *n* under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the *n*, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization. That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change; and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word (For a few cases of variation between *n* and 'spontaneous' *n*, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable, one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittiriya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles

§947. (1) The *n* is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics; or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-*. Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyaṇīya texts rarely alter to *n*, while Taittiriya texts generally alter to *n*, but there are exceptions in both cases. Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants

§948. We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final *r* of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word. But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter. This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound. Note that after a final *r*, Taittiriya texts keep dental *n* in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV and MS, which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual *n*, and yet, as we have said, Tait texts generally favor lingualization

§949. In the following cases the alterant sound is final *r*:
svaṛ na (TS. ApŚ *svaṛ na*) *gharmah* (ApŚ * *gharma*) *svāhā* VS TS. KS
 ŚB ApŚ. The same with *jyotih*, *śukrah*, *sūryah*, *arkah*; all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc.) Only TS has *n* in the rest (they are not in ApŚ)
svaṛ na (TS *svaṛ na*) *jyotih* RV SV VS TS MS KS
asya sutaśya svaṛ na (AŚ ŚŚ *na*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ
āśir na (MS MŚ *nā*) *ūrjam* AV MS Vait MŚ
anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (MS *nu*) RV. VS MS KS The mss of MS read corruptly *nakirnu*, p p *nakir*, tu
vytrahir no (TB *no*) MS TB. (two variants in the same passage)

§950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word.
pra no naya vasyo aha RV. *pra no naya prataram vasyo aha* RV
pra na (SV MS PB *na*) *āyūṇṣi* RV AV SV VS TS VSK MS
 KS PB TB. TA AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś N

- pra na* (SV *na*) *indo* . RV SV.
pra nah (SV. *nah*) *pinva* RV. SV
pra nu (TA ApMB HG *nu*, Kauś *no*, read *nu*) *vocam cikituṣe janāya*
 RV TA SMB ApMB Kauś PG HG MG. Jorgensen reads
nu for SMB, but with v 1 *nu*, which should undoubtedly be read
 in accord with the usage of SV texts
pra no (also, *no*) *jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśah* Kauś (both)
pra no (TS † JUB. *no*) *jīvātave suva* VS TS KS ŚB MŚ JUB Conc
 wrongly *no* for TS 5 5 7 5 Note JUB *no*, contrary to SV usage
pra no (TB. *no*) *navyobhis* RV MS KS TB
pra no (AV TS *no*) *yachatr aryamā* RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
pra no (AV. TS *no*) *yacha* (KS *rāsva*) *viśaspate* (AV *viśām*°, TS
bhuvas°, VS ŚB *sahasraṇi*) RV AV VS TS, MS KS ŚB
parainān (AV °*nān*) *devah savitā dadātu* RV AV
pari nah (SV *nah*) *śarmayantīyā* RV SV
pari no (SV. *no*) *aśvam aśvavit* RV SV
pari no (VS MS *no*) *rudrasya* . VS TS MS KS TB *pari no heṭi*
rudrasya ..RV. VSK.. *pari no heda* . RV
ataś cid indra na (SV. *na*) *upa* RV SV ŚŚ
indra enam (KS *enam*) *prathamā adhyatīṣṭhat* RV VS. TS KS
indra enam (AV. *enam*) *parāśarīl* AV TB ApŚ
sam indra no (AV. MS KS. Kauś *no*) *manasā* ...RV. AV VS TS MS
 KS ŚB TB ŚŚ. KŚ Kauś
sumitrā (ete) *na* (KS *na*) *āpa* ..VS TS MS KS ŚB TB TA.
 MahānU AŚ ŚŚ. LŚ BDh ApŚ. KŚ MŚ
uruṣyā no (MS *no*) *aghāyatak samasmāt* RV VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. N.
tebhīh (RV also *tena*) *somābhi* (TA °*bhi*) *rakṣa nah* (TA *nah*) RV.
 (bis) TA
śikṣā no (TS *no*!) ..RV AV VS TS KS AB Note that TS per-
 versely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency
devīh (AV *dai*°, KS *trayīṣ*) *śad urvīr uru nah* (only RV *nah*, AV. ed
nah, but read *nah*, see Whitney's note, KS.† *nas*) *kṛnota* RV AV TS.
 KS ApMB
asthūrī nau gārhapatyam . MS KS : *tayor* (ApŚ. *tayor nāv*) *asthūrī*
 (MŚ °*ri nau*) *gārḥ*° . ŚB KŚ ApŚ MŚ . *asthūrī nau gārhapatyānī*
 ...Kauś *asthūrī nau* (VSK *no*, ŚŚ *no*) *gārhapatyānī*
 VS. VSK. ŚB ŚŚ . *asthūrī no* (TS TB *no*, KS *nau*, MŚ [van
 Gelder] †*nau*) *gārhapatyānī santu* RV. TS MS KS TB MŚ. In
 the first-quoted version, the two best mss of MS read *nau*, in
 accord with MS usage, but the MŚ form of it (*tayor* etc) has *nau*
 according to all Knauer's mss

§951. (2) The *n* occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial *n* is nearly always, and medial *n* often, lingualized in the RV just as in simple words. Wackernagel I §170

§952. We begin with cases in which the *n* is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in *n*-compounded with *pra* (and certain other prepositions, Wackernagel I §169). When SV shows three times forms of *pra-nu* with dental *n*, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS twice lingualizes the *n* of *nāman*; and the *n* of *nāsalya* is twice lingualized, once in VS and once in MS. (1) despite the tendency of MS to avoid lingualization)

abhi pra nonumo (SV *no*^o). RV SV SV

abhi pra nonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) RV SV

tvām abhi pra nonumah (SV *no*^o) RV SV KB

pra nāmānu (TS *nā*^o). RV. TS MS KS

atharnam jarimā nayet HG *yatharnam jarase nayāt* AV

tasmād vār nāma (TS *nāma*). AV TS MS KS

gomad ū ṣu nāsalyā (VS *nā*^o) RV VS AŚ

nāsalyā (MS *nā*^o) *bhaṣajāśvina* VS MS TB. Preceded in all by

bhaṣaṇ, which may be meant for part of this pāda

punar āgāh punarnava (AV *°nava*, and *°navah*) RV AV (bis)

uṣtro ghr̥nāvān vārdhr̥nāsas (MS *gh̥r̥nāvān vārdhr̥nāsas*) VS MS.

gr̥dhrah śitkakṣi vārdhr̥nāsas (KS *ms vārdhr̥nāsas*, ed *em vārdhr̥t*^o)

.. TS KSA

sahasranīthah (SV *°nīthah*) *padavīh lavīnām* RV SV

§953. Of the rest, in which *n* is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases

sādhyebhyaś carmanam (VS *°mnam*) VS VSK TB. The form *°mna* occurs in RV

agne deva paṇibhur vīyamānah (MS MŚ *°nah*; VS ŚB *guhyamānah*)

KS *idhyamānah*) VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ TB

abhūr āpīnām (HG *°nām*, v I *°nām*) ApMB HG

dyutadyubhur namasyair iyanā MS *mitajñubhur namasyair iyanā* RV

devaśrīh śrīmanāh (VSK TS *°nāh*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

agneh puṇṇavāhanah (MS *puṇṇiya*^o, VS † ŚB † *°vāhanah*) VS TS MS

KS ŚB

§954. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the *n*, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due

(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi, in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the *n* dental-
suṣumnah (TS N. °*nah*) *sūryaraśmah* VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS

N there is thought of the simple *sumnah*

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound, in one text the *n*, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized-
amṛṇmayam (ApŚ *amṛn*°) TB ApŚ

FINAL *s* AFTER NON-*a* VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL *t*

§955. On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies. As to the Prātiśākhya rules RPr 349 requires *s* regularly before *tvā* and *te* (but cf 356), and 350-354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns. APr 2 84, 85 also makes *s* the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions, according to Whitney, *s* is commoner in AV VPr 3. 75, 76 (cf. 79ff) likewise makes *s* the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). TPr 6. 5 allows the change to *ś* in only a few specified cases

§956. Wackernagel I §236b says that the change to *ś* occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Samh kennen solches *ś* im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen'. This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV shows *ś* for RV *s*, not before pronouns. These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns.

dhanuṣ tanvanī (RV *dhanus ta*°) *paunsiyam* RV SV.

uṣā apa svasus tamah (SV †*svasus tamah*) RV AV SV AŚ

§957. All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns (Cf *agneṣ tvā tejasaḥ sūryasya* MG, to which the parallels in other texts show *s*, because no pronoun follows *agneṣ tejasaḥ sūryasya*. MS KS AB TB TA) They show that the schools of RV, AV, VS, and TS follow fairly well the rules of the Prātiśākhyas to their respective Samhitās. To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV, and that is exceptional in showing *s*, but the RV school texts show 12 cases of *s* to 1 of *ś*. AV shows 4 of *s* to 1 of *ś*, and its school texts 3 to 0. VS has 17 to 2, and other Vāj texts (incl VSK) 22 to 1. TS, on the other hand, is unanimous for *s* (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases). This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers *s* but KS also has 14 of *s* to 8 of *ś*. SV itself has

only one instance (of *ś*), and its school texts have 2 of each MS is as unanimous for *ś* as TS is for *s* (20 cases, and 16 from MŚ and MG) Summarizing the schools of RV, AV, VS, and MS regularly write *ś*, that of TS always, and KS usually, *s*, the variants from SV are indecisive

§958. There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns
anśur-anśus te (TS KS ApŚ °śus te) *deva somā pyāyatām* VS TS MS

KS AB GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ApŚ MŚ

agnis te 'gram (MŚ *agnis te agram*) TS MŚ

agnis te tanvam . MŚ *agnis te tanuvam* (KS *tanvam*) TS KS TB

ApŚ *agnis te tvacam* VS ŚB KŚ

agnis te tejo AŚ MŚ *agnis te tejo* TS TB JB ApŚ

agnis te (TS *agnis te*) 'dhipatih VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnis tvābhi (TS *agnis tvā*) *pātu* . VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnis tvā (TS KS *agnis tvā*) *śrīnātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB

agnis tvā (MS *agnis tvā*) *hwayati* TS MS KS TB

agnis tīan agre MS . *agnis tīan* (AV *tīan*, TS TA [but not KS †])

agnis tīan agre AV TS KS TA

agneś tvā (KS ApŚ *agnes tvā*) *tejasā sūdayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

KŚ MŚ.

agneś tvā (TS KS. *agnes tvā*) *mātrayā* TS MS KS MŚ

agneś tvāsyena (TS ApŚ. *agnes tvā*°) VS VSK TS GB ŚB KB

ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ

aditiś te (TS KS TA ApŚ °tis te) VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ

KŚ MŚ

aditiś tvā (TS KS ApŚ [but not MŚ †] °tis tvā) VS TS MS KS

ŚB ApŚ MŚ KŚ

avatatya dhanis tvam (TS KS NilarU °nus tvam) VS TS MS KS

MŚ NilarU

ropāya mā (VāDh *mām*) *śevadhīs te* (N °dhiś te) VāDh ViDh N

tābhiś tvam (KS TA *tābhiś tvam*) *ubhayībhih samvidānah* MS KS TA

ebhiś tvam putram janaya ŚG *tais tvam putram* (putrān) *vindasva*

AV ApMB

dyaus tvā (ŚŚ *dyaus te*) *pitā prthivī mātā* AV ŚŚ

prajāpatis tvā sādayatū VS ŚB MS MŚ *prajāpatis tvā sā*°

TS TB TA ApŚ KS

prajāpates tvā (MŚ °tes tvā) *prānena* TB ApŚ MŚ

rābhos te (SV °bhoś te) *tsatah* RV SV

bahis te (AV KS *bahis te*) *astu* AV TS KS ApŚ

rhaspates tvā (TS TB °tes tvā) VS VSK TS ŚB TB

br̥haspatiḥ tvā (TS KS ApŚ °*tis tvā*) *sumne* VS TS MS KS ŚB.
ApŚ MŚ

br̥haspatiḥ tvā (SMB HG °*tis tvā*) *niryunaktu* . AG ŚG. SMB HG
MG

br̥haspatiḥ tvā (TA °*tis tvā*) *viśvair* . MS TA.

br̥haspatiḥ tvā (TS ApŚ °*tis tvā*) *sādayatu* . TS MS ApŚ MŚ

br̥haspatiḥ tvopasīdatu (TA ApŚ °*tis tvā*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ

manoḥ tvā MS KŚ. MŚ : *manos tvā* . KS TB ApŚ

varūtrīḥ tvā . VS ŚB *varutrīḥ tvā* . KS

vāyus t̥ān (MŚ *tan*, KS *t̥ān*, TS TA *vāyus t̥ān*) *agre* . AV TS KS
TA MŚ

vāyus te (TS *vāyus te*) *'dhipatih* VS TS MS

vāyus te (TS *vāyus te*) *vāgyn yuñ* TS KSA

vāyus tvābhipātu (TS *vāyus tvā*) . VS TS MS KS ŚB

śivebhir arcibhiḥ tvam (TS. °*bhis tvam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

savitus tvā (AG ŚG °*tuḥ tvā*) *prasava* . VS ŚB KŚ AG ŚG

svadhitis te (ŚG °*iḥ te*) *pitā* VS ŚG ApMB

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL *k* AND *p*

§959. Here the rules of the Prātisākhya (ApPr 260 [4 14] ff, APr. 2 62ff, TPr 8 23-35, VPr 3. 10f, 20ff, especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus. in compounds *s* (or *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels) prevails, otherwise *h* (or *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya*) But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule

§960 European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf Macdonell 78 2, c) Wackernagel I §286c, β, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an āmredita compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an āmredita, and very few others concerning compounds They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words, but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately The sole āmredita noted is the following.

paraṣaḥ-paraṣas (KS *paraṣas-paraṣas*, TS TA MahānU *paraṣaḥ-paraṣaḥ*) *pari* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA MahānU Note that in the VS and MS schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a *p* follows in both cases, and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the *Prātisākhya*s, namely: we find *h* in the prior member, *s* in the last member. VPr. 3. 36 mentions this as an exception; likewise TPr. 8. 33, which states that *h* remains in compounds when the following vocable contains *s* or *dh*, covers the case; this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences.

§962. The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the *s* is preceded by *a*, in the others by *i* or *u*):

sādyasakṛīṣ . . . ApMB.: *sadyahkṛīṣ* . . . ŚG.

śociṣkeṣaṁ (MS.* *śociḥ*°) *purupriya* RV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS.

upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarāṇe (MS. *haviḥ*°, but p p. *haviṣ*°) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.:

bhūyasi haviṣkarāṇa upahūtaḥ (TB.* °*tā*) TS. TB. ŚB.

āyukṛd āyuhpatnī . . . ApŚ.: *āyukṛd āyuzpatnī* . . . AV.

§963. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the *Prātisākhya*s, the variants indicate if anything that *s* or *ṣ* is commoner in most texts than *h*. Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference. The Taittiriya school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer *h*, especially after *a*-vowels; but most other schools show a majority for *s* or *ṣ* in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the Maitrāyaṇīya school shows a majority for *s* after *a*-vowels, but for *h* after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes. The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows:

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		
	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>s</i> (dental)
RV.	7	9	3	12	
RV. school	5	12	1	2	
SV.	5	4	3	2	
SV. school	1	3	1	3	
AV.	4	7	1	8	
AV. school	0	4	0	1	
VS.	3	15	5	7	
VS. school	3	16	4	8	
TS.	21	2	2	4	
TS. school	24	7	16	6	2
MS.	6	15	10	5	1
MS. school	2	2	5	1	1
KS.	9	9	5	7	1
Others	0	2	0	1	

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		
	h	s	h	ṣ	s (dental)
Total RV. school	12	21	4	14	
Total SV. school	6	7	4	5	
Total AV. school	4	11	1	9	
Total VS. school	6	31	9	15	
Total TS school	45	9	18	10	2
Total MS school	8	17	15	6	2
Total all texts	90	107	56	67	5
Total all minus TS school	45	98	38	57	3

1. The *s* is preceded by an *a* vowel

§964. Here *s* remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittirīyas, the latter is nearly unanimous for *h*. Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f), the following occur.

soma (SV *somas*) *paṭi rayīnām* RV. AV SV.
sa no dīwā sa rīṣah (VS MS. *rīṣas*) *pātu naktam* RV. AV. VS TS MS
 KS TB

śam nas (RV *nah*) *karato aśvinā* RV. TB ApŚ
manyāśau śam ca nas (TS *nah*) *kṛdhī* VS TS. MS. KS AŚ ŚŚ. N.
devīh (dāviḥ) *śad . . . uru nah* (nah) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB..
trayīṣ śad . . . uru ṛnas kṛ° KS
uru kṣayāya naś (TS. *nah*) *kṛdhī* RV AV. VS VSK. TS MS. KS. ŚB.
 AŚ. ŚŚ.

varīvas (RV. °*vah*) *kṛnvan* . . RV. SV.
ayam no agnir varīvas (TS KS AŚ. ApŚ °*vah*) *kṛnotu* VS. TS MS KS
 ŚB AŚ ApŚ MŚ

urvī rodasī varīvas (TS. KS °*vah*) kṛ° TS. MS KS
dīvah (VS *dīvas*) *parjanyaḍ* . . VS TS MS KS
dīvah prthivyāh pary antarikṣāt TS KS TB ApŚ *dīvas* etc RV. AV.
 MS

dīvah prthivyāh pary oja udbhīram VS TS KSA. *dīvas* etc RV. AV.
 Vait Kauś

dīvah prīṣṭham svar (suvar) . TS MS KS : *dīvas* etc AV. VS ŚB
dīvas (SV *dīvah*) *prīṣṭham adhi* RV SV

dīvas (SV *dīvah*) *prīṣṭhāny* AV SV.

dīvah (RV *dīvas*) *prīṣṭham* (PB °*the*) . . RV PB TA ApŚ

abhi prīyā dīvas padā (SV. *dīvah kavīh*) RV. SV.

agne tvam sūktavāg . . *dīvas* (TS TB *dīvah*) *prthivyoh* TS. (fragment)
 MS ŚB. TB. AŚ ŚŚ

parameṣṭhī tvā sādāyatu divah (VS. ŚB. *divas*) *prsthe* ... VS TS MS
KS ŚB ApŚ

śrñhi viśvataḥ prati RV.: *śrñāhi viśtatas pari* SV. Add to VV I §275
giriṇ na viśvatas (SV. °*lah*) *prthuḥ* . . RV. AV. SV.

yathā nah śreyasas (TS °*sah*) *karat* VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ

yathā no vasyasas (TS °*sah*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS TS MS KS. ŚB
LŚ.

viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyaḥ (VS.† ŚB PG † °*bhyas*, MS. *danṣṭrābhyaḥ*)
pāhi (TS TB *pāta*, PG. *paripāhi* . . .) VS. TS MS ŚB. TB
TA PG.

yeṣām apsu sadas (TS ApMB *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS TS ŚB. NīlarU
ApMB † 2 17. 6c

mitrās (RV *mītrah*) *pānti adruhaḥ* RV. SV.

prthuyāḥ samprcas (TS TB ApŚ °*cah*; VS ŚB. *samsprśas*) *pāhi* VS.
TS MS ŚB TB. ApŚ AŚ.

nānā hi vām devahitam sadas (TB ApŚ *sadah*) *kṛtam* VS MS. KS
AB. ŚB. TB ApŚ AŚ.

diva oṣadhayas (TS. °*yah*) *pari* RV. VS TS. MS.

ubhe ca no (etc) . . . *añhasaḥ* (MS ŚB.† AŚ. °*sas*) *pālām* (TB Conc
syātām, Poona ed. *añhasaḥ spātām*!; AŚ. text, *†añhasa syātām*)
MS ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ

indraḥ (ŚŚ *indras*) *patis* . . . AV. AA ŚŚ

idāyās (ApŚ *idāyāḥ*) *padam* . . . AV. AŚ. ApŚ MŚ SMB. Vait Kauś
apah (TS. TB ApŚ *apas*) *pīnva* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB TB. KŚ ApŚ.

MŚ. Note the perverseness of the Tait texts in reading *s*, contrary
to their usual rule, against all other texts!

agne trātār ṛtas (SV. *ṛtah*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV.

pūsādhvanah (VS. KS ŚB °*nas*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ

prāṇasya tvā . . . *tanuwah* (MS *tanvas*) *pāhi* MS TA

prastu brahmaṇas (MŚ °*nah*) *patnī* TS ApŚ MŚ.

ṣan morvīr anhasas (ŚŚ. °*sch*) *pāntu* . . ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ

2. The *s* is preceded by a non-*a* vowel

§965. Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be
a larger element of chance. In general, however, *ṣ* prevails. The
dominance of *h* in the Tait school is less marked; TS itself has only
half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain *ṣ*. More
curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of
cases is not very large) that the Maitr. school this time favors *h*, tho
after *a*-vowels it shows a majority for *s*. Nevertheless, in the three

variants where the preceding vowel is an *r*-vowel, MS alone shows *ṣ*, other texts *h*. These all concern the single form *nṛn*, acc plur of *nṛ*, the vowel *r̄* alters the *s* across the intervening nasal which becomes *anunāsika* (cf §940 above)

hoṭā yakṣad uṣāsānaktā . *nṛnh* (MS *nṛnṣ*) *patibhyo* .. MS KS TB
hoṭā yakṣan narāśansam nṛśastam nṛnṣpranetram (TB. *nṛnh*°) MS TB
nṛnh (MS *nṛnṣ*) *pāhi* RV SV VS. MS) KS ŚB.

§966. Anomalously, dental *s* is preserved without change in two variants, both times before a form of root *kṛ* (does the form *skṛ* exercise an influence here?)

supṛppalā oṣadhīs (ApŚ °*dhīh*) *kṛdhī* MS KS ApŚ MŚ.

śam agnir agnibhīs (RV °*bhīh*) *karat* RV. TB ApŚ

§967. Besides these and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants:

dyauih (RV. *dyauiṣ*) *pitāh pṛthivī mātāḥ adhrūk* RV MS. TB.

dyauih pitā ... TB ApŚ : *dyauiṣ pitā* . AV.

dyauih pṛṣṭham pṛthivī śarīram ŚŚ 10 17 4 (as two separate mantras):

dyauiṣ pṛṣṭham antarīkṣam .. ŚB KŚ

upahūto dyauiṣ (TB. ApŚ. *dyauih*) *pitā* VS ŚB TB. ApŚ

upa mām dyauiṣ (TB ApŚ *dyauih*) *pitā hvayatām* VS ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

jyotiṣ (MS LŚ *jyotih*) *paśyanta* (MS ° *tā*) *ullaram* RV MS KS ChU.

LŚ

jyotiṣ (SV. °*tih*) *paśyanti vāsaram* RV. SV KS

yas tāni veda sa pituṣ (VS and most mss of AV *pītuḥ*) *pitāsāt* AV. VS :

yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ (TA. *savituh*) *pitāsāt* RV. AV TA N : *yas tad*

veda savituh (MahānU *sa pītuḥ*) *pitāsāt* TA. MahānU

aham id dhi pituṣ (MG. *pītuḥ*) *pari* RV AV SV Vait MG

sa idhāno (KS ms *edh*°, ed. emends) *vasuṣ* (MS *vasuh*) *kavh* RV SV.

VS TS. MS. KS.

haviṣ (HG MG *havih*) *kṛnwantah parivatsarīnam* (HG † SMB. † °*nām*,

MG °*yam*) AV SMB ApMB HG MG

yasya dvārā manuṣ (SV *manuh*) *pitā* RV SV.

mṛtyoh (VSK. °*yoṣ*) *pāhi* VS. VSK MS KS ŚB MŚ

citrah śiśuḥ (MS *śiśuṣ*) *pari* ... RV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB

āyoh patmane svāhā KS. : *āyoṣ patvane svāhā* ApŚ

āviṣ (MS *āvih*) *kṛnuṣva dāvyāny agne* RV VS TS. MS KS

apālām . *triṣ* (ApMB MG *trih*) *pū*° RV. AV. JB. ApMB MG.

parne vo vasatṣ (TS MS °*tih*) *kṛtā* RV. VS TS MS KS SB

nih kravyādam nudāmasi (MS *nudasva*) AV MS . *nṣ kravyādam sedha*

VS TS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ : *nṣ kravyādam anīnaśāt* RV. AV. MG.

[*śrāduḥ* (AV. °*duḥ*; but most mss., SPP., and Whitney °*duḥ*) *kīlāyam*
madhūmān utāyam RV. AV. AB. ApS.]

ALTERATION OF FINAL *r* BEFORE *h* AND *ṣ*

§968. Among the variants occur only three *pādas* belonging here, and they all concern the word *śarpati*. This occurs in that form in RV. (three times), AV. and KS. (once each), while in SV. (three times) and PB. (once) it occurs in the form *śaṛpati*. This accords with RPr. 258 (4. 12), which requires *śar* before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise *ṣ*). APr. ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it occurs in Book 20, which the Pr. does not treat. The *pādas* are:

yuram hi śtaḥ śarpati (SV. PB. *śaṛpati*) RV. SV. PB.

dātrasy āgne śarpatiḥ (SV. *śaṛpatiḥ*) RV. SV. KS.

śaṛpatiṃ yad iṃ ṛdhe SV.: *śarpatiṃ yad iṃ ṛdhe* RV. AV.

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969. In this case RPr. 251, 253 allows either *h* or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to *ṣ* by the influence of a non-*a* vowel preceding the final *s*, in which case the final *s* must be assimilated to *ṣ*. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Müller's *editio princeps* in the first variant quoted below, *ṛṣṣaharāṇo* . . .; Müller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read *niṣṣaḥ*° in accordance with the Pr. rule. VPr. 3. 8 f. quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them; according to Weber the mss. of both VS. and VSK. generally write *h*. APr. 2. 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss. of AV. generally write *h*, and the edition usually follows them. TPr. 9. 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss. of TS. generally write *h*, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

§970. The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts *s* in these circumstances appears as *h*, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS. however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf. his *Einleitung*, p. XII): the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS, and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV. retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all); but in several of these Müller prints *h* instead. According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl. Ind. edition), TB. also

retains the sibilant three times; but in all of these the Poona ed. has *h*. ApMB. also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlviii); but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write *h*. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him; and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

§971. The following variants have been noted:

nāṣahamāno (SV. *nāṣa*°) *yamate nāyate* RV. SV. On the RV. reading see the preceding paragraph

vaḥṣahsu (RV. *vaḥṣassu*; but Muller °*hsu*) *rukṃā upaśiśṛyānāḥ* RV. MS. TB.

vardhanam puruṣṣidhe (SV. °*nāḥsidhe*) RV. SV.

pr̥sūtūrṣu śravassu (AV. and Müller's RV. °*hsu*) *cā* RV. AV.

vṛṣā na kruddhah patayad rajassu (AV. and Müller's RV. °*hsv*) *ā* RV. AV.

haviṛ haviṣṣu vandyah (SV. *haviḥṣu ṭvandyah*) RV. SV.

kṛṣānta (TB. *pr̥yā ta*) *ā barhuh* (KS.† TB. °*has*, but TB. Poona ed. °*hkh*) *sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.

ulo aranyānāḥ (TB. °*nis*, but Poona ed. °*nāḥ*) *sāyam* RV. TB.

upa nah (KS.† TB. *nas*, but TB. Poona ed. *nah*) *sūnavo girah* RV. SV. VS. KS. TB.

īdam devānām idam u nah (KS. *idam nas*) *saha* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ MS.

satyā eṣām (AG *etā*) *āśiṣah* (ApMB. °*ṣas*) *santu* . . VS. VSK. AG. SMB Kauś ApMB. HG.

FINAL *s* BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972. RPr 255 (4. 12) prescribes the dropping of the *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr. 3. 12 TPr. 9. 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect, the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss. of TS. generally follow it. APr. contains no such prescription, but the AV. mss. observe the practice in a majority of cases; and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APr. 2 40). This appears to be not quite true; cf. the variants *hotrā-vidah stomataṣṭāso* . . AV. 18 3 47b, and *madhvaḥ ścotanty* . . AV. 20. 88. 3d

§973. None of the Prātiśākhya authorize the dropping of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant; but the comm. on TPr. 9 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then.

1. Final *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions, and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss. Aufrecht's edition of RV follows the Prātiśākhya rule, dropping *s* before sibilant plus surd; but Müller's edition always prints *h*, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise. Benfey's edition of SV. is apparently not wholly consistent. of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the *s*, the other reads *h*. On AV see above, §972. In TS, Weber's edition apparently always drops the *s*; at least the variants record no contrary case. The same is true of Weber's edition of VS. Von Schroeder's edition of MS always prints *h*; but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol 1, p XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss., which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop *s*. On MŚ. and MG cf. Knauer, Einleitung to MG, p xxxviii, it appears that the mss. of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print *h* generally; among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, *yas te drapsa skandati* MŚ 2 4. 3. 29a. The mss. of KS usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant; in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS, quoting its readings with *h* like those of MS.

§975. Most other texts seem usually to drop the *s*, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss. of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. ŚŚ likewise shows a number of cases of *h* where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of ŚG. of the mantra *mā no hunsāh* (*hunsā*) *sthaviram*, with and without *h*; we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no *v* 1 to either.

§976. [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain *paribhāṣā* rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert *h* in MS, MŚ, and MG against the evidence of their mss.

Likewise in the case of KS there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS. When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS, MŚ, MG, or KS, it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read *h*, and that of KS reads *s* (or *ś*, *ṣ* when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV. it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or *h*, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Muller's edition in every case reads *h* — I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss. and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded — F E]

§977. The list of variants concerning final *s* before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* just stated—is as follows:

pra tad viṣnu (TB Poona ed *viṣnuh*; AV † *viṣnu*; ŚŚ [prātika] † *pra tad viṣnur itī*] *stavate* . . RV. AV VS MS KS. ŚB TB AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ NrpU

ya (ŚŚ *yah*) *śrīnām* . . VS TS KSA. ŚŚ

viṣno (TB *viṣnoh*) *stupo* (*stūpo*) 's VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB ApŚ. MŚ.

viṣno (TB *viṣnoh*) *śhānam asī* VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ

samsrāvabhāgā (or, *samsrava*°, TB. °*bhāgāh*) *stheṣā* . . VS TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ

huta (TB *hutah*) *stokah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

hotrāvīda (AV. °*vidah*, TB °*ṛdha*, Poona ed. °*ṛdhah*) *stomataṣṭāso* . . RV AV. MS TB.

vipra (TB Poona ed 1 3 3 6 °*cah*) *stha* VSK KS. ŚB. TB. (both readings) KŚ ApŚ. MŚ The same with *sampra* . .

andha śhāndho . . VS. ŚB KŚ. *ambha* (ApŚ *ambhak*) *śhāmbho* . . TS. MS KS ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ MG

ā na (ŚŚ *nah*) *stuta* . . RV ŚŚ.

āyu stha ApŚ : *āyuh stha* TB

ṛtava (TB °*vah*) *stha* . . VS KS. ŚB. TB

indravanta (AB °*tah*) *stuta* (*studhvam*) AB GB. Vait

dīva (TB. *dīvah*) *skambha*° . . VS VSK KS. TS ŚB TB ApŚ.

pra va (KB. ŚŚ. *vah*) *spad* . . RV KB ŚŚ

prokṣitā (TB. Conc °*tā* and °*tāh*, Poona ed both times °*tāh*) *stha* VS. TS. MS KS TB. ŚB. KŚ MŚ.

balaviññāya (SV. °yah) *sthavirah* . . . RV. AV SV. VS TS MS. KS
brhadbhīr vāja (TB. Poona ed. *vājah*) *sthavirebhur* . . . RV. MS. KS TB
brhaspati (TB. Conc. °ti and °tiḥ, Poona ed. both times °tiḥ) *stotram* VS.

MS. KS. TB

madhva (AV. °vah) *ścotanty* . . . RV. AV.

mā no hinsīh (and, *hinsī*) *sthaviram* . . . ŚG (both)

mānta (ApŚ. *māntah*) *sthur* . . . RV. AV. AB. JB. ApŚ. MŚ.

mā na stena . . . RV. KS.: *mā va* (TB. Poona ed. *va* and *vah*) *stena* . .

RV. AV. VS. TS MS. KS ŚB. TB.

yas te drapsa (ŚŚ. Vait. *drapsah*; MŚ *drapsa*) *skandati* . . . RV VS TS

KS. GB. ŚB. Vait MŚ ŚŚ.

ye devā devasūva (TB. °vah) *stha* . . . TS TB.

vāyava (TB. °vah) *stha* VS TS. MŚ KS. GB. ŚB. TB KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

upāyava (TB °vah) *stha* TS. KS. ŚB. TB KŚ ApŚ

prāṇah sthaḥ TB.: *prāṇa sthaḥ* ApŚ.

stokā (TB Poona ed. *stokāḥ*) *ścotanti* . . . RV. MS. KS. AB. TB.

subhūlakṛta stha ApŚ.: *subhūlakṛtah stha* AŚ

sūryatvacasa (TB. Poona ed. °sah) *stha* VS. TS MS KS ŚB TB MŚ

gṛa (ApŚ. *gṛah*) *stomāsa īrate* RV. AV. SV. MS ApŚ

cakṣu (TB. *cakṣuh*) *stha* . . . TB ApŚ

cita (TB. *citah*) *stha* TS. MS. ŚB TB. ApŚ MŚ

cita (ApŚ. once out of four times, and TA twice out of three times acc. to Conc., all three times acc. to Poona ed., *citah*) *stha pari* . . .

VS. TS KS TA. ApŚ. KŚ.

prati tvā diva (TB. *divah*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB Poona ed. †*vetu*) TS. TB.

[*trinave* †*maruta* (Conc. °tah for VS) *stutāḥ* (°tam) VS. MS. KS.]

[*dhruvam asī dhruvata* (Conc. °tah for ApMB) *sthitam* ApMB. HG]

2 Final s before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978. Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātiśākhya, require *h*. In KS, just as before sibilant plus surd, the final *s* is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant, again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS as reading *visarga* like other texts. The only text noted which regularly drops the final *s* is ApMB, see Winternitz's Introduction, p. xlviii. It appears, however, that the mss of some other texts show the same dropping of *s* not infrequently. Especially is this true of AV; see Whitney's note on APr 2 86, and on his Translation of AV., 6 121 1. The Bibl. Ind. editions of TB and TA show the dropping of *s* a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same

works print *h* in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder: *syonā* (for *syonāh*, so ApŚ) *syonena ghr̥tena mā samukṣata*, MS. 4. 2 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of *h* are rare and sporadic

§979. [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two *paribhāṣā* rules, viz : 1 KS. always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance.—2 Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text —F. E.]

§980. The variants of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows:

svapnaḥ svapnādhīkarane RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhīkaranena* AV. The latter is to be understood with *svāpna(h)* nom., not voc.; Edgerton, *AJP* 35 438ff.

medasaḥ (VSK. °sa) *svāhā* VS. VSK. MS TB

yā devy asīṣṭake prānadā . . . cakṣurdās (ApŚ. °dā) *śrotadā . . . dyaurdās* (ApŚ. °dā) *svardāh . . . KS. ApŚ : yā devy asīṣṭaka āyurdāh . . . cakṣurdāh śrotadāh* MS.

saṃjñānam naḥ (TB. *na*, but Poona ed *naḥ*) *sve*° . . . RVKh AV. MS. KS. TB

ādityebhyaḥ preṣya . . . mahasvasarasya (MŚ *mahaḥ sva*°) . . . ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Knauer's note, and pw., Addendum to Vol. 5, s v. *mahasvasara*.

avidahantāḥ (TB. °ta) *śrapayata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

uśasaḥ śreyasīḥ-śreyasīḥ dadhat ApŚ. *uśasa śreyasī-śreyasīḥ dadhat* TB. Conc, but Poona ed as ApŚ

jyog ajlā (MŚ. *jīvā*, SMB *jīlā*, but Jørgensen *ajlā*) *ahatāḥ* (SMB. °tā) *syāma* TS KS MŚ. PG SMB

śrotapāḥ (AŚ °pā) *śrotām . . . TS MS AB AŚ.*

svaḥ (TS. ApŚ. *svaḥ*) *ṇa* (TS ApŚ *na*) *gharmaḥ* (ApŚ.* °ma) *svāhā* VS. TS KS ŚB ApŚ. (both)

stutāḥ (TB *stuta*, but Poona ed *stutāḥ*) *śravyaṇm . . . RV. MS. KS. TB.*

syonāḥ (MS. °nā) *syonena ghr̥tena mā samukṣata* MS ApŚ

supānīḥ (TA °nī, but Poona ed °nīḥ; ŚŚ *subānīḥ*) *svaṅguriḥ* VS TS. MS. KS ŚB TA ŚŚ

citīḥ (TA. °ti, but Poona ed °tīḥ) *sruk* MS. TA ŚŚ MŚ

paro maritāḥ parāḥ (ApŚ all mss, and TB Conc. *para*, but TB. Poona ed. *parāḥ*) *śvā* VS TS MS KSA TB. ApŚ MŚ

pary āvarite duṣvapnyāt (KŚ *duḥṣva*°, v 1 *duṣva*°) AV. KŚ See Whitney's note on 6 121 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV. mss.

duṣvapnyam duritam nih (AV. **ni*) *ṣvāsmat* AV. (both). Whitney, however, would read *niḥ* in both places—with the *Prātiśākhya*, but against nearly all the mss

duṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap° duruṣṣaha*) TA. *duḥvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU Cf preceding two

aślonā (AV. comm. *aśro°*) *aṅgair ahrulāḥ* (TA *aślonāṅgair ahrīā*, Poona ed *ahrulāḥ* with v. 1 *°lā*) *svargē* AV TA.

snuṣṭ sapatnā (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text *°nāḥ*) *brahuro 'yam astu* (AŚ *'ham asmi*) TB AŚ *sapatnāḥ*, nom pl masc (1), seems to be intended in both

INITIAL *s* VARYING WITH *ṣ*

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the *Prātiśākhya*s (RPr. 318 (5 1) ff, APr 2 96 ff, TPr 6 1 ff, VPr. 3 53 ff) The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204-7 In practically every case the altered *s* is preceded by an *i* or *u* vowel; TB reads *ṛkṣama* for *ṛksama* of other texts (§985), and in a few cases *ṣ* appears after *a*-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an *i* or *u* vowel occurred (§984) *Visarga* after *i* or *u* does not interfere with the alteration. Wackernagel I p. 237, bottom.

§982. In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial *s* In these latter cases *ṣ* is extremely rare in RV, but becomes common in the other *Samhitās* (Wackernagel I §205a), two of our variants show *ṣ* under such circumstances for RV. *s* (§983). The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds Here the conditions are confused. the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206). We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies; earlier *s* is replaced by later *ṣ* and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random. Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned. Lingual *ṣ* in these is common in the RV, but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207), accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes *s* for earlier (generally RV) *ṣ*; but the reverse is also found (§987) Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompounded words, in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language, yet our variants show at least one case of *ṣ* in TB substituted for *s* of RV. (§988)

§983. The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987.

vy aṣṭabhnā (VS ŚB *aṣṭabhnā*, MS *aṣṭabhnā*, KS *aṣṭabhnā*, TS. *aṣṭabhnād*, TA. *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodasī* . RV. VS VSK TS MS. KS. ŚB TA

ād id dholāram ny asādayanta (TB *aṣā°*) RV VS TB.

abhy aṣṭhām (TS KS ApŚ *aṣṭhād*, MS *aṣṭhām*) *viśvāḥ prtanā arāṭh* AV TS MS KS MŚ. ApŚ.

tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ TS KS : *tena devā vy asahanta śatrūn* AV *yasmād bhīṣā nyaśadah* (ŚŚ *nyaśadah*) TB. ŚŚ ApŚ

§984. Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an *a* vowel precedes, so that the change to *ṣ* is irregular. Four of them contain the Rīgvedic words *prtanāṣah* (*°sāḥ*, *°sāhya*), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular *°sah* etc Whitney's statement (*Grammar*, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show The *ṣ* is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like *śatrūṣah*, *bhūrīṣah*, *abhīṣah* etc.—The only other case contains the TS form *saṣṭubh*, which is obviously analogous to *triṣṭubh*, *anuṣṭubh*, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b:

samstup (TS *saṣṭup*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB.

ā vīram prtanāṣaham (SV *°saham*) RV AV. SV.

tam agne prtanāṣaham (TS *°saham*) RV. TS.

prtanāṣāhyāya (TB *°sāhyāya*) ca RV AV. VS TB.

uccairvāṇi prtanāṣāḥ (HG *°sāham*) RVKh HG

§985. Twice in the same passage of TS occurs the stem *ṛkṣama*, for *ṛksama* of the others; this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding *k* (cf Wackernagel I p 237, top):

jagatyā ṛksamam (TS *ṛkṣamam*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB

ṛksamāc (TS *ṛkṣamāc*) *chukrah* VS TS MS KS. ŚB.

§986. The remaining cases concern a preceding *i* or *u* or diphthong In GB 1 5 25d, quoted in Conc as *viṣkandham enam vidhṛtam prajāsu*, Gastra reads *viṣkandham viṣṭam*

abhiwīro abhiṣatwā (KS *°ṣatwā*) *sahojāḥ* (AV MS † KS *sahojit*) RV. AV SV. VS TS MS KS Many mss of AV, followed by the comm and SPP's ed., also read *abhiṣatwā*

stotā me goṣakhā (SV. *gosakhā*) *syāt* RV AV. SV

prthivīśadam (MS *prthivī°*, VS † *°śadam*) *tvāntarīkṣasadam* (VS † adds, *dviśadam devasadam*) . VS TS. MS KS. ŚB TB

deva savitah susāvantram (ApŚ *suṣāv°*) . . PB KŚ ApŚ.

rayisthāno (AV. °*sthāno*) *rayim asmāsu dhehi* RV. AV.
susamiddho (RV. *susa*°) *na ā vaha* RV. SV PB. LŚ.
susamiddho (KS TB. *suṣa*°) *varenyah* VS MS KS. TB.
susamiddham (TB. *suṣa*°) *varenyam* VS TB
suṣadam (ŚŚ. *susatyam*) *id gavām* . AV. ŚŚ.
ye triṣaptāh (MS. *tris*°) *pariyanti* AV. MS
triṣaptāso (TB. *tris*°) *marutah* . AV TB
utkulānikūlebhyas triṣṭhanam VS: *utkulānikūlabhyām trisṭhanam* TB.
amba niṣpara (TS. ApŚ *niṣpara*, KS *niṣvara*, MS *niṣmara*) VS. TS.
 MS. KS ŚB. ApŚ In VS ŚB. divide *niṣ-para*; the rest belong here.

somanetrebbhyo . . . *uparīśadbhyo* (VSK °*śadbhyo*) . . VS. VSK. ŚB
ye devāḥ somanetrā uparīśado (VSK. °*śado*) . VS VSK ŚB . *ye devā uparīśado* (KS ° *das*) . MS KS.
vrajam gacha goṣṭhānam (VS ŚB TB *goṣṭhānam*, but TB. Poona ed °*sth*°) VS. TS MS KS ŚB. TB ApŚ. MŚ
kṛṣṇagrīvāḥ śitakakṣo 'ñyīśakthas (MS °*śakthas*) *ta aindrāgnāḥ* VS MS.
añyīśakthāya (KSA † °*śakthāya*) *svāhā* TS KSA
duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha (Poona ed *duṣṣvap*° *duruṣyaha*) TA . *duḥsvap-nahan duruṣvāhā* MahānU.

§987. Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the copula. In one or two of these *s* of RV. is replaced by *ṣ* in a later text: *druhaḥ pāśān* (TS KS. *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* RV. TS. MS KS.

apo su (MS. *ṣu*) *myakṣa* . . . RV. MS

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction:

kṛdhā ṣv (TS. *sv*) *asmān* . . RV TS MS KS
prati śma (SV. *śma*) *deva riṣataḥ* (SV *ri*°) RV SV MS KS TB
prati śma (AV. *śma*) *rakṣaso daha* (AV *jahi*) RV AV.
asti hi śmā (TS MS KS. *astu śma*) *te kuṣmīn avayāḥ* RV. VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vayam ghā te apī śmasi (SV. *śmasti*) RV SV.
anupūrvam yatamānā yatī śha (AV *stha*) RV AV.
divi śaṇi (AV *ṣan*, SV *san*) *chukra ātataḥ* RV AV SV
divi śad (RV. *śad*) *bhūmy ā dade* RV SV VS
ūti śa (SV. *sa*) *bṛhato divah* RV SV.
pari śya suvāno akṣāḥ RV . *pari śya svāno akṣarāt* SV. cf *pari śya suvāno avyayam* RV.

tasmād āpo anu śhana (TS *sthana*) AV. TS MS. KS.

§988. Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncon-

pounded words. Note that in the first a later text introduces § where RV. has s:

trīni śatā trī sahasrāṇy (TB. *ṣa°*) *agnim* RV. VS. TB.

ye apsu śadāṁsi (KS. *'psu sadāṁsi*) *cakrire* MS KS.: *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam* RVKh.

apsu dhautasya te deva soma (TS. *tr soma deva te*) *nṛbhīḥ śtutasya* (KS. *nṛbhīḥ stu°*, TS. PB. *nṛbhīḥ sutasya*) . . . TS MS KS. PB. The mss of MS. read *nṛbhi*, which von Schroeder as always (cf. §974) changes to *nṛbhīḥ*; but the presence of final *h*, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event

pari bhrātuh pari śvasuh HG. ApMB.: *pari mātuh pari śvasuh* PG *vāyo ve* (TS. ApŚ *vīhi*) *ślokānām* (VSK *°nām juṣānah*, KS. *ślokānām*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. KS † 3. 6 (with *ṭve*, not *veṣ*).

SECONDARY CRISIS, AND HIATUS

§989. Secondary crisis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants. Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi. There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG, which according to Knauer (p. xxxviii f.) has it quite frequently:

dhruvā strī pahikule iyam (MG *°kuleyam*) SMB MG. In SMB, also, the v. 1 *°kuleyam* is recorded, as well as *°kula iyam*, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, *°kule iyam* (with complete hiatus).

uc chuṣmā oṣadhīnām (AV. *chuṣmauṣ°*) RV. AV. VS TS. MS. KS. Whitney would 'probably' read *chuṣmā* (for *°māh*) *oṣ°*; this is supported by Ppp, cf Whitney's note and Barret, JAOS 35. 50 f. *viśvādityāḥ* [pratika] MG. This probably refers to the formula *viśva* (PG text *ṭviśve*, with hiatus) *ādityā vasavaś ca devāḥ* (MG. *sarve*) AG. PG MG. All mss of MG (in the pratika) read *viśvād°*.

sahasradhāre 'va (AV. *°dhāra eva*) *te sam asvaran* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Whitney, note on AV. 5. 6. 3, suggests that RV. stands for *°dhārāh*, with double sandhi. The RV p p reads *°dhāre, ava* Oldenberg, *Noten*, would read *avate* as one word, keeping *°dhāre* of p.p. The whole verse is difficult and obscure

anāmayaṁdhi etc, see §344.

§990. All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi.

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context:

ado ma āgachatu ApŚ . *ado māgachatu* MS KS MŚ. (not ApŚ which in 4. 13 8 reads *†ma āga**)—In ApŚ. *me*, in the others *mā*

māgadhaḥ punścali kīṭavah klibo 'śūdrā abrahmanās (VSK. . . 'śūdrā-brāhmanās) *le prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK. Two separate words in VS, a compound in VSK. So also in the following; cf the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here

aślonā (AV. comm *aśro**) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA *aślonāṅgair aḥṛtā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. 1 'tū) *starge* AV. TA 'Unmanned in limbs', or 'with unmanned limbs'. Cf preceding

ākrayāyā ayogūm VS.: *ākrayāyūyogūm* (so Poona ed text and comm) TB. Different genders: fem in VS, masc in TB.

saha ojaḥ (VS *sahaujah*; VSK *sahojah*) VS VSK. AB GB AŚ Vait In VS. VSK. *saha* plus *ojas* (on VSK.'s sandhi see §731); in the others, *sahas* plus *ojas*. The latter form is probably original

yathauka ṛṣir (KS 'larṣir) *viṇāte* KS TA ApŚ See §919, end *yā* (MS. *ya*) *ṛṣavo yātudhānām* VS TS. MS ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS Serpents are referred to: 'who are mis-siles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS makes reasonable sense: 'either in whom are sorcerers' . . . (correlative with the following, which see). But it is clearly based on *yā* (or *ya*) *ṛṣavo*, mispronounced with secondary crasis

§991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi, or they may be called the converse of them. In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular, in those we are about to give, it is irregular. A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable:

uta śravasā (MS. *śravasa ā*) *prthivīm* VS TS MS TA. The p p of MS reads *śravasah*, ā; but both meter and sense show that the MS has a stupid blunder.

yad indra citra mehanā (SV. PB *ma iha na*) RV. SV PB AŚ ŚŚ N

See §832

vasneva (KS *vasna ira*) *vikrīṇārahai* VS TS MS ŚB AŚ. Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom.-acc plur of an *a*-stem (*vasna*), it seems that we are to understand it as *vasnā* (so MS p p), rather

than *vasna* We have, then, in KS. perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in $\bar{a}-r = RV$ etc. $a-r$; cf. Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than r . Otherwise KS. would be a mere blunder, like MS in the preceding Cf. the next. *sapatnā vācam manasā* (AŚ. °sa) *upāsātām* TB AŚ 'His (or, my) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds'. Both texts must intend *manasā*; TB. has complete hiatus, while AŚ. (if the text is correct; we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi'; see under the preceding variant. The meter is against fusion. See also the variant *praty etā vāmā* (*sunvan*) etc., §357.

§992. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations It will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted:

bhūyo vā atah somo rājārhatī (MŚ. *rājā arhatī*) ŚB KŚ ApŚ. MŚ. All Knauer's mss read thus for MŚ.; Knauer suggests *pluti*. The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ it could pass for a fair jagatī pāda

pavasva deva āyushak (RV. *devāyushak*) RV. SV. PB. The accent in SV. (*devā*) indicates a nom. form; but Benfey translates a voc. In any case SV. is secondary, and metri gr.

pāpmānam uta vāgham (SMB. *vā agham*) SMB. ApMB HG. Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons

ā pūṣā etv ā vasu TS : *ā puṣṣam etv ā vasu* AV. Hiatus for metrical reasons in TS.; in AV the meter is improved without fusion.

tatra indro brhaspathi VS.: *tatrā* (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmanaspathi* RV. SV
Hiatus metri gratia in VS

tan mā (Vait *mā*) *āpyāyatām punah* GB. Vait. Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait. Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR. only in one epic passage (Mbh 5. 508) In GB. (with *me*) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements But if *mā* be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter.

sam tvā rinanti (Vait *rinanti*) LŚ KŚ Vait The hiatus in Vait may be connected with pronunciation of *r* as *ri*, see §676

punantu rṣayah TA MahānU. Hiatus in both forms

darvyā hotārāgna (MS. °gnā, ŚŚ *hotārā agna*) *ājyasya vītām* MS. KS. AŚ ŚŚ Probably ŚŚ stands for *hotārā*, not °rāu, and therefore has hiatus, see §885d. For *hotārāu* we should expect °rāv in ŚŚ

achdrā usyah padānu takṣuh TS : *achdroṣigah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuh* (see §627) KS. Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if *achdrā* went with *padā* as in KS ; but TS p p *achdrāh*, with *usyah*, and so comm *abhīm* (SV. *abhī*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV. SV. Cf *abhīm ṛtasya* (SV. *abhy ṛṣṭasya*) *sudughā ghṛtaścutah* RV. SV. On *m* as "Hiatus-tilger" see §309

pitrbhyah svadhāstu (MahānU *svadhā astu*) TA MahānU

§993. With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts; in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical *ā* declension (in *ās*) varying with nominatives of the derivative *ā* declension in *ā*. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait texts, and according to TS p p. and TPr 5 2, 10 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of *-mā*, without *s*.

māsi MS MŚ. *mā asi* TA ApŚ Likewise (in MS TA) *pramā*, *unmā*, *vimā*, *sammā*, *pratimā*.

sahasrasya pramāsi (TS *°mā asi*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB The same with *pratimā*, and *sahasrasyonmā*.

§994. The next is different in character:

manāsi (KS *manā asi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N. All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter *manas*. In KS it has the form of a feminine *s*-stem (nom *manā's*) In the others it becomes an *ā* stem

§995. The next group contains textually dubious cases:

pitarāś ca upāsate (VS *copā°*) RVKh VS The hiatus improves the meter, but Scheftelowitz reads *copāsate*, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads *copa āsate*, with hiatus in a different place

yā medhā apsarāsu (MG. *medhāpsarahsu*) RVKh MG The meter is better, tho still poor, with hiatus. However, most of Knauer's mss read *medhā aps°* in MG, and on the other hand Scheftelowitz reads *medhāps°* in RVKh without report of variant; he also reads *°psarassu*

devā brahmāna āgachata āgachata GB, Conc *de° bra° āgachatāgachatāgachata* LŚ But Gaastra reads for GB *āgachatāgachata*, he notes a v l *āgachatā āga°*.

vibhur vibhāvā suśakhā (AV. *sakha ā*) *sakhīyate* RV AV. So the mss of AV, leaving *sakha* unaccented; SPP. follows them; the vulgate ed reads *sākhā ā'* It seems at least possible that the AV. mss correctly

present the Atharvan tradition; the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative *sakhe* is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus. Whitney in his Transl. assumes *sākhā'* (fusion of *sākhā* and *ā'*).

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun *sa* followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous; in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV. itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus:

semām (AV. *sa imām*) *no havyadātṛṇ juṣānah* RV. AV. VS TS. MS.

KSA. Oldenberg, *Noten*, thinks that RV. should probably be read *sa imām*.

agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS MS KS ŚB. Kauś. Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV. omits the particle *u*.

sa imām (ŚG. *semām*) *devaḥ pūṣā* (also *aryamā*, and *varunah*) ŚG AG SMB.

soma āyusmān sa oṣadhībhir (PG. *sauṣa°*) *āyusmān* TS. KS PG ApMB
This passage is prose. PG is hyper-archaizing

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INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note—Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, *ā* as a sound, and *ya* as a phonetic combination (which varies with *i*, *ī*, and *e*), are treated here; but *ā* the preposition or privative prefix, and *ya* the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the Indexes are to sections.

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SANSKRIT INDEX

Note —Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf. Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc.) with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur *first* in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, *not* listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras. The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here. Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction. It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means. Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word; only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed. The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences.—In this Index the colon (:) is used in the sense of 'varying with' or 'as a substitute for'. References are to sections.

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